NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Conference Reaches Youth

At the 59th National Conference on Government in Richmond, November 10-11, 1,033 persons from 35 states were registered, not including several hundred high school and college students.

The Conference reached every major educational institution in Richmond. Under the general title "Youth in Civic Affairs," sparked by Ed. P. Phillips' Local Committee on Civic Education, six Conference speakers addressed seven educational institutions in a drive to bring home to Richmond's youth the desirability of being concerned with their own local and state government. This was in addition to a panel session on Monday morning, November 9, "Youth in Civic Affairs," in which 400 students participated.

The following day Raymond D. Black, executive director of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, spoke at the Richmond Professional Institute of William and Mary College; Charles B. Coates, general manager of the Citizens' Committee for the Hoover Report, addressed an assembly at Armstrong High School, and George S. Van Schaick, League second vice president, talked before a special meeting at the Maggie Walker High School.

On Wednesday, George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion and new League president, delivered addresses before assemblies at Virginia Union University and Jefferson High School. Later in the day Reuben A. Lazarus, consultant on municipal affairs to the New York State legislature, spoke to a group at Richmond University, and Charles Edison addressed a large gathering of students at John Marshall High School, winding up a program which included a presentation of the "Ballad for Americans."

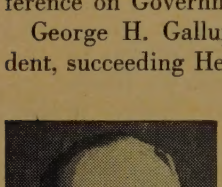
(Continued on next page)

View of the Conference's Tuesday, November 10, dinner meeting at the Jefferson Hotel.

Annual Membership Meeting Held

The annual membership meeting of the League was held November 9 in connection with the 59th National Conference on Government in Richmond.

George H. Gallup was elected president, succeeding Henry Bruère. John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick were re-elected as vice presidents.



George H. Gallup

New regional vice presidents are Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle, and Carl J. Gilbert, Boston. Re-elected were Lester L. Bates, Columbia, South Carolina; William Collins, New York; John B. Gage, Kansas City, Missouri; Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; A. E. Johnson, Denver; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; John Nuveen, Chicago; E. W. Palmer, Kingsport, Tennessee; Ed. P. Phillips, Richmond, Virginia; Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati; and Ale R. Thomas, San Antonio.

Council members elected were Arthu Bromage, Ann Arbor; E. Bartlet Brooks, Dayton; William H. Bulkeley Hartford; Charles E. Commander, Jr Jacksonville; L. P. Cookingham, Kansa City; Karl Detzer, Leland, Michigan Arnold Frye, New York; Thoma Graham, Louisville; and H. Bruc Palmer, Newark, New Jersey.

Reports were made by the staff, an Dr. Joseph E. McLean, of Princeto University, summarized his repor "Evaluating the League." Mayor Hohe Foster of Phoenix and Clint Kanaga president of the Citizens Association and Regional Vice President and forme Mayor John B. Gage, both of Kansa City, invited the League to hold th 1954 National Conference on Govern ment in their cities. Regional Vic President Ben B. Ehrlichman put in bid for the 1955 Conference for Seattle as did Robert O. Hilty on behalf o Toledo.

Conference Reaches Youth

(Continued from preceding page)

Among the more popular of the 22 regular panel sessions conducted at Conference headquarters in the Jefferson Hotel were "Cities and the National Government," with Sherwood Reeder, president of the Pennsylvania Economy League, presiding; "Effective Citizens' Associations," Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids Citizens' Action; "Ethics for Legislators," Belle Zeller, professor of government at Brooklyn College; "Women as Campaigners," Margaret Hickey, of the *Ladies' Home Journal;* "The Citizen and Juvenile Delinquency," Douglas MacNeil, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies "The Newspaper as a Civic Force, Virginius Dabney, editor, Richmon *Times-Dispatch,* and "Policy-makin Machinery in the Council-Manage Plan," John M. Kernochan, Columbi University.

Main speakers at the dinner an luncheon meetings were Karl Detze roving editor of *Reader's Digest*; Fran C. Moore, former lieutenant governo of New York; George Gallup, directo of the American Institute of Publi Opinion and new League president Spencer Miller, assistant secretary o labor, and Charles Edison, former gov ernor of New Jersey and chairman o the League's Council.

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Editorial Comment

Promising Political Invention

EVERYONE knows that continuing scientific and mechanical invention is essential to the dynamic character of modern science and industry. It is not so generally realized that continuing invention is equally important in government and politics if our institutions are to keep pace with the conditions created by science. Just as scientific inventions release new energies and give new scope to human effort, sound political inventions release pent up civic energy and give new meaning and direction to citizen effort.

A good example of political invention is to be found in the New Jersey optional municipal charter law of 1950. The law was prepared by a commission of experienced citizens who worked for two years under the chairmanship of Bayard H. Faulkner, former mayor of Montclair and member of the Council of the National Municipal League. There are a number of more or less novel features in the act, including the way in which it permits local choice of a variety of methods of electing the council with either the strong mayor or the council-manager plan.

The major political invention embodied in the act adapts the elected charter commission, familiar in constitutional home rule states, to the optional charter system. Whereas the home rule charter commission starts from scratch in drafting a charter, the charter commission in New Jersey determines which, if any, of the ready-made options to submit to the people.

That this New Jersey adaptation of an old institution is an invention of considerable promise was made evident at the elections in Novem ber. As a result of those election the state's largest city, Newark, re placed its old commission gover ment with a new strong mayor cha ter recommended by a commissio elected last spring. The smaller ci of Rahway adopted a similar ch ter. One township accepted and o rejected commission - recommende council-manager charters.

In advisory referenda, voters one community endorsed and those of another turned down a charter commission proposal to provide by ordinance for a professional business administrator to assist the mayor and council in an old weak mayor setup. Finally, three other municipalities elected charter commissions to report during the coming year and one municipality adopted the council-manager plan by direct petition without the aid of a charter commission.

Since the Faulkner act was adopted, every campaign to create a charter commission has been successful. This record is doubtless due partly to the fact that the emphasis in the campaigns has been not on the charter commission or even on a new charter but rather on the desirability of a "charter study." It is pretty hard to argue against having five specially elected fellow-citizens make a systematic study of the existing

charter and of the possibility of municipal improvement through adoption of one of the available alternative charters. The value of such a study is pretty clear even to many who may be convinced that the community already has a sound charter.

There are indications that for at least some communities the Faulkner Act charter commission has distinct advantages over a home rule charter commission. A common weakness in the work of home rule charter commissions is in their failure to support their recommendations with the kind of factual and explanatory material that the people need in order to vote intelligently. A typical home rule charter commission must devote so much time, energy and expense to hashing over details and drafting a complete document that it has little left to devote to packaging and selling its product.

The New Jersey charter commission, however, is not required to worry about details because they are all set up in the options on which the Faulkner Commission worked for two years with its staff of consultants. Each local commission can concentrate on the major questions of what form and what method of providing for a representative city council are best adapted to the needs of its community. Furthermore, it is specifically directed by law to base its findings on a study of the existing charter in the course of which it is required to hold public hearings, sponsor public forums and generally "provide for the widest possible public information and discussion respecting the purposes and progress of its work."

Most of the charter commissions so far set up in New Jersey have taken seriously these injunctions in the law, with the result that their communities have had an important educational experience whether or not they adopted a new charter. The Newark charter commission elected in May worked intensively for 16 weeks during which it held 44 meetings, conferences and hearings attended in most cases by all members of the charter commission and from three to five consultants. Public hearings were held both at city hall and in the several major areas in the city.

The commission issued a preliminary report covering part of its recommendations and raising questions which it was still studying. After public discussion of that report it issued a final report of 111 pages which included not only the text of the proposed charter but also a thorough exposition of the proceedings of the charter commission, the failure of the commission form of government in Newark, the arguments for the recommended charter and additional suggestions for the guidance of the mayor and council in launching the new charter.

The charter commission also issued a short popular summary report, which was distributed to all the voters. Members of the commission held themselves available throughout the campaign to explain and defend their work at public meetings, on the air and through the press.

(Continued on page 554)

Our All-America Citizens

Gallup finds many willing to volunteer services to promote civic progress, calls for sustained effort.

By GEORGE H. GALLUP*

FOR nearly 60 years the National Municipal League has carried on a continuous struggle to improve government at the local and state levels. It is probable that within the next 60 years the League will be meeting again in this same city. And, if it does, it is a good guess that two of the chief problems under consideration will be how to improve the structure and administration of local and state governments and how to arouse citizens to greater activity in governmental affairs.

These problems, like sin, are always with us. We have made great progress but it is my impression, as I look back over the 60 years of the League's existence, that we have achieved greater success in the first area than in the second. We have been more resourceful, more inventive in dealing with the structure of government, than we have in creating greater interest in government on the part of our citizens.

These two problems are, of course, closely interlocked. Unless we arouse interest in good government, it is difficult to get improvements in government accepted by the electorate, and it is often difficult to keep improvements in force once they are adopted.

Why is it that so many persons take so little interest in government? There is no easy answer to this question, but certainly we can agree that the person who thinks that government is far removed from his vital interests will almost certainly take little interest in government, and will do little to change or improve it. Usually this person will rationalize his lack of interest and effort by claiming that his vote makes little difference, that politics is a dirty business and therefore should be shunned, that it is of little importance who is in power, that one side is as bad as the other anyway.

The League, and other groups interested in good citizenship, have carried on a vigorous educational program in recent years to correct these misunderstandings. We must carry on this program even more vigorously. But at the same time we should devote more study to the reasons why so many people regard government as something remote from their own vital interests.

I believe that the whole area of citizen participation in community and state affairs has not been sufficiently explored. We cannot expect people to keep their interest high if their only chance to play their part in good government is in casting a vote at election time. We must de-

*Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, is the newly elected president of the National Municipal League. This article is his presidential address before the National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, November 10, 1953.

velop ways by which more citizens can help with local and state problems. One way to do this is to encourage local and state authorities to create citizens' committees. We have witnessed the development of such committees in recent years and certainly the record to date has been sufficiently encouraging to give hope that this movement can be greatly expanded.

An important point to bear in mind is that a great majority of the people of the United States would like to devote some of their time and energy to dealing with governmental problems. In a survey made a few years ago, it was discovered that a substantial majority of persons would be willing to give time each week, without pay, to helping solve such local problems as housing, health, crime, relief and the like. As a matter of fact, the survey found that the busiest people were the most willing to devote time and effort to these local problems.

This desire to participate in some activity related to government can, on occasion, reach an almost pathetic urge. I remember one such incident when a public opinion interviewer talked to an elderly man in a small California community. The interviewer had found him in his garden, hoeing weeds. When the interviewer had finished plying him with questions on issues of the day, the old man turned to him and said, "You know, the two greatest things in my life have happened to me this last week." The interviewer looked at him quizzically as the old man, leaning on his hoe, continued, "First, I was asked to serve on the jury and now I have been asked to give my opinions on the issues of the day."

This man is just one of millions who would like to do something to make his own contribution to government, even in a small way. Is there not some way to harness this energy? When one thinks of the millions of persons in this country who have special training and skills and who are just as ready as this old man to serve their local communities, one can only conclude that this energy is our greatest untapped natural resource.

Is there anyone who doubts that the quality of government in most localities wouldn't be measurably improved if citizens' committees were named by the local authorities to deal with the problems which every community faces?

Voting Intelligently

During the presidential campaign last year I listened to many discussions on the question of how to get more people to the polls on election day. I have heard many debates on the merits of compulsory voting, on permanent registration and upon other aspects of this problem. To me, the vital point in these discussions is often overlooked. While there may be some good which comes from establishing the habit of voting, the real problem is how to get the people to vote intelligently.

To vote intelligently, people must have a reasonably good understanding of the issues, and information on the candidates. Too often they do not have this information. And this applies to local and state elec-

tions as well as to national elections. In this struggle to develop a better informed electorate, we must use every resource at our command. The schools must do a better job of teaching basic facts about the structure of government; parents must recognize their duty to "keep up with the times" and to develop in their children an interest in current events.

In this process of teaching people how to vote intelligently, we must remove some of the obstacles to intelligent voting. We know from surveys that where ballots have been shortened, where the voter's task has been simplified, the citizen feels better able to select candidates intelligently than in those situations where he has to vote on a long list of candidates, many of whom he has never heard of.

Recently, at the request of the National Municipal League, the American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a poll which found a greater lack of awareness among voters where the long ballot prevails than where the ballot is short.

Short Ballot Aid to Voter

In Ohio, where the ballot listed 38 to 50 offices to be contested in the 1952 election, only 31 per cent of voters questioned could name the present congressman from their district. In Virginia, where five or fewer offices appeared on the ballot, 57 per cent, or nearly twice as many, could identify the representative from their district. Is that because Virginians are smarter than Ohioans —or is it that their job has been made easier for them?

If we are to arouse citizens to greater activity, then, we must find ways of recognizing and rewarding their efforts. I remember discussing this point at the League conference twelve years ago in St. Louis. At that time we decided that we needed something akin to a Nobel prize for constructive citizenship.

In 1949, at our St. Paul conference, a characteristically American scheme of recognition was proposed. Why not an All-America team of the outstanding players in the game of civic progress? Thus began the All-America Cities competition. The first year the "team" was chosen without the mechanism of formal nominations. The National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Tribune* sponsored the awards for 1949, 1950 and 1951. They attracted national attention.

Appropriately, *Look* magazine, with its large national circulation, took over the sponsorship in 1952. Now the League and *Look* invite nominations for the awards. This year more than a hundred preliminary nominations were received. Twenty-two finalists were invited to present their cases before the jury at this conference.

For three years I have been a member of the jury and have heard spokesmen tell their inspiring stories of "energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen effort" in communities from coast to coast. It has been difficult to say which eleven should compose the winning team. Cities, large and small, provide an impressive procession of living democracy. Shortly after the first of the year the 1953

team will be announced. The pride of the winners will be amply justified, but likewise the others who have been heard should be proud of having recorded significant civic progress.

It is appropriate to talk about recognition of citizen achievement from a platform in Richmond. To all of you who live here the story is familiar. Many of you have helped to make it a classic in civic progress. The inspiring efforts of the Richmond Citizens Association and its allies made Richmond a member of the All-America team in 1950. The need for discarding the bewilderingly complex old charter was highlighted by the small number who turned out for municipal elections. The charter revision has been followed up by subsequent successes. The continued civic consciousness of the citizens of Richmond is demonstrated by the tremendous local effort that has gone into the preparations for this conference.

No Letdown for Citizen

I have had the pleasure of presenting All-America certificates at ceremonies in a number of winning cities. Each time I have done this I have had a feeling that somehow I must convince the recipients that citizen effort must be continuous; a single impressive effort followed by relaxation and return to the old, easy ways of silence is civic tragedy. Many of you have heard the story which our friends in Kansas City tell, of momentary victory for the forces of good government in the mid-twenties. The dark ages of Pendergast rule continued because the citizens who were able to win an election did not remain vigilant. The road back was a hard one, but once the Citizens' Association won in 1940, it maintained itself as a year-round organization to preserve good government in Kansas City and to prevent the return of machine rule. In two different years, the citizens of Kansas City received All-America honors.

I hope the citizens of Richmond and other cities which have more recently won their civic victories will remain active and effective over the years to come—that here in Richmond the Citizens' Association will continue to keep the people of the city informed and alert, continue to keep the government on its toes and make sure that good people always are sought as candidates for the council. These candidates must not only be supported at election time, but they must have citizen backing for their good works as they remain in public office. With this sustained citizen action will come civic progress unlimited.

I wish I could tell in detail the stories of every member of each of our All-America teams. Each has its own distinctive lesson and each shows what citizens can do if they want to badly enough. This year the jury heard how citizens have met both natural and economic disaster; how improvements in governmental structure have been made against strong opposition from entrenched forces; how blight has been eliminated by urban redevelopment; how many improvements have been undertaken to bring physical facilities

into line with the needs of a growing population which insists upon being motorized and airborne.

We have seen how local revolutions have repudiated rule by racketeers and replaced them with respected public officials; how citizens have fought legislative and court battles as well as intense election campaigns to modernize the schools; how the often maligned property tax has been modernized; how local party organizations have been reformed; how citizen groups have studied their communities with a thoroughness that gets to the core of basic problems.

As these stories were told I realized we were listening to the voices of All-America citizens. These were the voices that had been raised in their communities. Not long ago some of them were silent, but now their power has been demonstrated. Other silent citizens have been stirred and are joining the ranks of the vocal. They are realizing that free activity of free citizens is a vital part of the American heritage, too important to go unused.

Over the years the League has had as a primary objective the encouragement of citizen action. Its latest contribution is the publication of two civic manuals to show how citizen groups from one end of the country to the other have banded together to make themselves the most effective kind of politicians—and I use that word in its finest sense. These and other tools can be used to increase citizen participation. We must bring more and more people into the act. Our pride in achievement must never prevent us from sharing our endeavors with as large a group of our fellows as possible.

Civic progress should be the goal of all citizens. To achieve that goal requires sustained effort of the sort that we have seen in our All-America Cities. It requires the "energetic, purposeful, intelligent" effort of All-America Citizens.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 549)

A distinct advantage of the Faulkner act commission in a smaller municipality lies in the fact that it obviates the necessity for a technical draftsman. In many small municipalities the problem of obtaining a competent draftsman is a serious one. It may seem impossible to engage a highly qualified man from a distance and it may be impossible to find a local person who has both the technical competence and the objectivity to draft a new charter which differs radically from that to which the community is accustomed.

It is not suggested that the New Jersey type of charter commission, with a limited mandate to recommend one of several optional forms, should replace the home rule charter commission. It is clear, however, that the New Jersey system has advantages in certain situations and is worthy of serious study by any state considering adoption of an optional charter law. Moreover, there is every reason why home rule charter commissions should more generally adopt some of the study and reporting procedures which have come naturally to charter commissions in New Jersey.

The Obligation to Be Strong

Ignorance, fear, inertia and lack of cooperation must be overcome if we are to get good government on home front.

By CHARLES EDISON*

WE OFTEN learn more from our enemies than we do from our friends. The American people and the other nations of the free world have learned a great deal from the enemies we have been battling for practically a generation. Dictators and would-be Caesars of the right and the left have taught us much about both the values and the obligations of freedom.

We have been brought up to believe, as the Declaration of Independence says, and the Constitution of the United States provides, that freedom is the natural state, the divine right of man. We have been taught also that freedom is the way to the good and more abundant life.

These are great truths, but we have not always understood them properly. We have sometimes acted as if they guaranteed benefits without effort, rights without obligations. For these things are true, not in a literal but in a moral sense. Man is not born free physically or materially. Rather, man is born with the right to achieve and enjoy freedom through merit and effort. That is the great truth we sometimes forget in years of complaisance or of concentration on the material things that, rightly or wrongly, we associate with the good life. That is the lesson that the founders of the Republic knew well and that our enemies have helped us to remember.

What then is the essential price of liberty? What is the great obligation of the free? It is, I believe, the obligation to be strong, to be strong in the best, the most comprehensive and most generous sense of that word.

Our enemies, or rather our military, economic and political battles with our enemies, have taught us more. They have helped us recognize some of the fatal weaknesses that are the opposite of strength.

Let me call attention to four of these weaknesses that sap the strength that is the necessary foundation of freedom.

First is ignorance, for knowledge is power. At least there can be no effective, well directed power without knowledge—knowledge of the objective, of the obstacles in the way and of the means of overcoming them.

Second is fear. Not all fear is weakness, but there are two kinds of fear that corrode strength as truly as rust corrodes iron. One is the fear of loss of a selfish advantage or comfort. The other is that most corrosive of all fears, fear of ourselves, which makes us fear also our true friends.

*Mr. Edison, former Secretary of the Navy and former governor of New Jersey, is chairman of the Council of the National Municipal League and a past president. This article is Mr. Edison's address before the National Conference on Government, Richmond, Virginia, November 11, 1953.

Third is the dreadful illusion that we can alone carry the torch for good government without the help of those who are ready and willing to assist.

Fourth is unwillingness to "go all out," to try greatly, to make a sustained effort enough in excess of the calculated odds to provide a margin for error.

I believe we have made important progress during the last few years in recognizing and overcoming these weaknesses in our dealings directly involving foreign enemies. I am not so sure we have applied these lessons as consistently as we should at the home front, especially at the most important sector of the home front, right in our home communities and states.

Begin on Home Front

The obligation to be strong must begin in the home towns where men, women and children form their political and moral ideas and first exercise their muscles as citizens. In our system the strength and soundness of the whole depends at least as much on the local and state governments as on the government in Washington.

Politics and government within our states provide the recruiting ground for those who are called to run the government of the nation. The quality of our national administrations and of our world leadership depends largely, therefore, on the kind of practice we give our chosen representatives in precinct, city hall, court house and state capitol.

There is another reason which, in my judgment, becomes more important every day, why our first obligation is to keep our institutions strong at the grass roots. That is the danger of the system becoming top-heavy at the center, with too much power and responsibility concentrated in one place.

People have long viewed with alarm the continuing growth of the federal government and its tendency to take on more and more functions. No one has deplored this trend more publicly than I. But I am uneasy at the tone of many of the complaints. Too often they are nothing but laments over the loss of "state's rights." This lament was not powerful enough to prevent the great unpleasantness known as "the war between the states." It surely will not be powerful enough to stop or seriously retard the twentieth century trend towards Washington.

Neither wishing nor invective will solve this or any other tough problem. It takes determined action.

At the National Conference on Government in San Antonio last year, I discussed this question of the role of the states in the nation at some length. I suggested that the president appoint a commission to conduct a "major national inquiry into ways and means of strengthening the states and municipalities so that they can carry a greater share of the business of American government."

Since then the first steps toward action have been taken in the establishment of two commissions. The first, sometimes called Hoover Commission No. 2, has been asked to ex

amine federal functions and programs and advise on which ones might be cut out, reduced or transferred to the states or communities. The other, the Commission on Federal-State Relations, is charged specifically with studying grant-in-aid and other programs involving federal and state governments with a view to decreasing the extent of federal responsibility and participation and increasing state and local responsibility.

These projects are all well and good as far as they go, but I am not sure they go far enough. The results will be disappointing unless more and more attention is paid to preparing state and local governments to carry a heavier load in a manner satisfactory to the people.

Make States Strong

The hard truth is that the states themselves are in large part to blame for the growth of the federal government. It is their repeated failures to meet the needs or satisfy the desires of their own people that have built up pressures on Congress for the expansion of federal functions.

Many states and cities have been so inefficient, so unresponsive to the people, in some cases so boss-ridden or tainted with corruption, that the people have often concluded that administration of a service by the federal bureaucracy was the better, if not the only, way to get an important job done. We cannot hope for a permanent roll-back of the federal establishment unless we make at the same time substantial and progressive improvements in state and local government.

This idea is not new. Thomas Jefferson expressed it well. He pointed out that the only effective way to erect a barrier against federal encroachments was "to strengthen the state governments." "The only barrier in their power," he added, "is a wise government, a weak one will lose ground in every contest."

I learned this lesson first as a federal official, later as governor of New Jersey. It was for that reason that I initiated the movement for a new constitution. By dint of the effort of thousands of good citizens, almost all of the major citizen groups, and my two successors in the governor's office, and with some important assists from the National Municipal League, New Jersey, after some seven years of sustained effort, won a new and much improved constitution. It is far from perfect, but it represents the kind of progress that needs desperately to be made in most states, and then followed up with still more progress.

People in Virginia may not realize that few states have ever had the substantial modernization of state administration achieved under the leadership of Governor Byrd over twenty years ago, or that Virginia is the only state in which every city but one has the modern, responsible council-manager plan of government. The point I am making is that if, as many Virginians have told me, government in Virginia has not kept entirely up to date, governments in most of the other states are farther behind the times, and

less secure in the confidence of their people.

Unfortunately, deficiencies in state governments are reflected in weaknesses at the county and municipal levels. Local governments are essentially creatures of the state. Local self-government and local progress are limited or completely stymied in thousands of communities because of inaction or unwise action by the states. In Rhode Island a home rule amendment overwhelmingly adopted by the people two years ago has been made a mockery by the entrenched machine politicians in the legislature. The legislature of the great state of Pennsylvania has for many years forced all of its third-class cities—all cities except Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Scranton—to struggle along under the thoroughly discredited commission form of government.

Unrepresentative Legislatures

Every believer in representative government should be especially concerned at the bad reputation generally attached to our state legislatures, particularly since this reputation is largely deserved. Most legislatures are so unwieldy and cumbersome that they lend themselves much better to manipulation by professional self-seekers and pressure groups than to full and orderly deliberation among the elected members. The fate of many measures of great public importance is decided not by open debate and record vote but by decree of some caucus or "steering committee" working in secret. Still more primitive perversions of the legislative process are not uncommon. During the last session of the Connecticut legislature, for example, several bills were hijacked while in transit between the two houses during the end of session confusion. In other words, they just disappeared.

Most legislatures are constitutionally so unrepresentative of the people, especially of the people of the cities, that one wonders when some of our city people will raise the old cry of Revolutionary days, "No taxation without representation!" As a matter of fact, the unrepresentative and often irresponsible character of state legislatures is a major cause of the popular demands that have resulted in new and expanding federal programs. A majority of the people of a majority of the states are now city dwellers. This means that the United States Senate, elected from each of the states at large, is actually more responsive to some of the basic needs and desires of the people of many of the states than their own rural dominated legislatures.

All the preaching in the world will not persuade either city dwellers or farmers to stop running to Congress for a hearing they have found they cannot get from their own legislatures. Power gravitates to those who will exercise it. If we really want to strengthen our system of representative government at the state level the first job is to make it truly representative. This may prove to be the acid test of the strength of our republican principles.

Again, let me recall advice given by Thomas Jefferson in 1791: "Render the legislature a desirable station by lessening the number of repre-

sentatives . . . *and proportion them equally among the electors.*"

The sooner we take this advice by the sage of Monticello, the surer we will be to realize his conception of a union of strong and indestructible states. This is the most important piece of unfinished business in many states, including New Jersey where we have modernized almost every part of the constitution except that dealing with the legislature.

At the same time state legislatures are rendered more "desirable" and more representative they should be freed from many constitutional shackles that make it difficult or impossible for them to meet legitimate demands for action promptly and effectively.

Past scandals have resulted in a gradual piling up of constitutional prohibitions that have been more effective in preventing active government than in promoting clean government at the state level. Many states are virtually hog-tied, especially in financial matters, which is one reason why they often find it easier to hold their hands out to Congress than to reach into their own pockets to meet local needs. Thus limitations in state constitutions encourage both federal centralization and public extravagance at the same time. And thus our fear of ourselves and of our own representatives saps the foundations of good government.

Well, then, why doesn't every red-blooded American citizen roll up his sleeves and do something about it? I think the answer lies in part in our failure to take seriously the obligation to be strong at home as well as abroad.

In New Jersey, as we worked toward a more modern constitution, we had to meet the four weaknesses that I spoke of earlier.

First, we had to overcome ignorance—ignorance of the serious nature of the built-in defects of the old constitution and the way in which they could be corrected. This we did by a comprehensive, long range, well financed campaign of education for citizens young and old.

Second, we had to overcome fear, especially the fear that the people could not trust themselves to have a constitutional convention lest they betray themselves to the enemy by writing fascist or communist ideas into their own constitution. What an idea! This obstacle was overturned by the basic good sense of the people, but not without a struggle.

Sustain Citizen Effort

Third, we had to convert many of those citizens and groups that gloried in their independence to the gospel of working together for a common good.

And, finally, we had to drown out the chorus of those who said it wasn't worth a big effort. Fortunately, we found enough people who recognized that, if our system of government was worth fighting for, it was certainly worth hard work to preserve and strengthen it.

This kind of effort is needed now throughout the land to make our states and cities and counties and towns the bulwarks of strength they must be to keep the nation strong

(Continued on page 590)

Citizens Put to Work for State

Unpaid committees tackle knotty problems in New York, win approval of solutions from people and legislators.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Speaking before the annual dinner at the National Conference on Government, November 10, Dr. George H. Gallup, the League's newly elected president, stressed the desirability of the use of citizen committees in the working out of governmental problems on both the local and state levels. (See his address, page 550.) Here is how one state, New York, has successfully made use of such committees.

RECOGNIZING the urgent need for greater citizen participation in the affairs of government, New York State has developed a technique of using committees of its citizens to solve some of the difficult problems that have confronted state government in the last decade.

Within recent years we have been increasingly aware of the failure of our people to accept their responsibilities as citizens in a democracy and have recognized the need for revamping our educational system to provide citizens better equipped and more eager to accept their responsibilities in their community, state and nation.

If we want better performance of their duties as citizens, we should increase our citizens' understanding of their government, their duties and their opportunities for participation in government. We should turn to our citizens for more help with the problems of government.

In New York State we found that citizen participation in government affairs could be stimulated and encouraged through the committee method. Citizens who participated were glad and eager to serve again while others enthusiastically offered their help.

In New York, we proved that men and women, upstaters and downstaters, Republicans and Democrats, public officials and taxpayers, educators and businessmen could work together successfully for solution of tough governmental problems.

Committees Evaluated

We have abundant evidence of the value of this form of citizen participation in government. For instance:

1. By the committee method we have brought about a new system of state assistance to the localities which has been appraised as the best in the nation.

2. Another committee of citizens, appointed in 1947 and effective until October of this year, successfully sponsored a series of amendments to modernize the provisions of the state constitution restricting the powers of municipalities to borrow and to impose taxes on real property. After 40 years of unsuccessful effort by others, this committee also brought about a separation of city and school finance in the 56 cities having less than 125,000 population.

The article above is a synopsis of the address of FRANK C. MOORE before the National Conference on Government at Richmond, Virginia, November 10, 1953. Mr. Moore, who has been both lieutenant governor and comptroller of New York State, is president of the Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., and a member of the Council of the National Municipal League.

3. Another committee reviewed the powers of the localities to impose local non-property taxes and sponsored legislation which has eliminated administrative difficulties and obstacles to their use.

4. In late 1949, it was claimed that our school districts could not meet their school building needs unless the state provided immediate state assistance in an amount variously estimated from $200,000,000 to $600,000,000. A representative group of citizens in less than three months carefully analyzed the needs and resources of our school districts and unanimously agreed that less than $1,000,000 was required for the following year.

5. Another committee tackled the problem of teachers' pay, the so-called merit law for the advancement of teachers' compensation and the revision of our state aid for education formula to assist the localities in financing increased teachers' salaries. This committee completed its assignment in less than two months. Its recommendations were praised by the New York State Teachers Association as an outstanding advance in our education history.

Without exception, every recommendation by these committees—and they aggregated numerous changes in our constitution and statutes—for legislative action has been approved by the legislature. The statutory changes were all approved by the governor and the constitutional changes were all approved by the people by large majorities.

In setting up and operating the committee, there are important basic steps:

1. Define the problem as precisely as possible.

2. Carefully determine the personnel of the committee, have women as well as men members and persons whose stature would favorably impress the body having power to act upon the committee's recommendations. Give weight to geographical and political distribution. Do not appoint persons who would have to clear their views and vote with an organization. Do not select persons who would stand to profit personally from the committee's action.

Speed Work

3. Get committee meetings under way swiftly and get work done by frequent, long meetings over a short period of time. Have the meetings at an unattractive, business-like and not too comfortable place.

4. Obtain with maximum accuracy and speed up-to-the-moment factual information and devise a plan for keeping it up to date as the study progresses.

5. Have experts present all the facts to the committee before anyone is permitted to express his views or get into fixed position. After discussion, peg down points of agreement and segregate for further discussion points of disagreement. Often the facts will clearly show the way toward answers.

6. Never forget your target is solution of the problem—not merely publication of a report. A report should be published, however—clear, concise and correct, easily read and understood, attractively presented and widely distributed. It should be a means to effective action by the legislature, governor and people.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Tennessee Amends 1870 Constitution

Home Rule Aided by Three Out of Eight Amendments

FOR the first time in 83 years voters of Tennessee succeeded in amending the state constitution adopted in 1870. Eight amendments submitted by a limited constitutional convention,[1] elected in November 1952, were approved by majorities of nearly two to one in a relatively light vote on November 3. The amendments are briefly described below. Numbers 6, 7 and 8 give a substantial measure of local home rule.

1. Specific provision made for constitutional conventions, limited or otherwise, and for popular vote on resultant proposals, ratification to be by a majority of those voting thereon. Conventions to be not less than six years apart. Submission of amendments by two successive legislatures also provided for, popular ratification to require a majority of those voting for governor instead of for state representatives as at present.

2. Legislators' salaries increased from $4 to $15 per day (including $5 for expenses) plus $4 for each 25 miles of travel to and from the capitol. Two successive legislatures can increase the pay; one can reduce it.

3. Governor's term increased from two years to four; no immediate successive term.

4. Governor given time (ten days) after adjournment of legislature to act on bills passed in the last five session days; he must file reasons for refusal to sign any such bill. He may veto or reduce parts of appropriation bills.

5. Voting requirements limited to age, citizenship and residence, thus prohibiting poll taxes. These were abolished by legislation in 1951.

6. Legislature prohibited from passing private acts removing local officials from office or changing their term or salary while in office. All local bills must be ratified by majority vote of the people in the locality affected or by two-thirds vote of the local legislative body.

7. Municipalities can become home rule cities by local referendum, whereupon the legislature can deal with them only by general laws. Charter changes in such cities, except as to tax powers, may be made locally, subject to majority popular vote thereon.

8. Legislature may provide for complete or partial city-county consolidation subject to majority vote of the people in the city and in the county.

[1]See the REVIEW, September 1952, page 400; July 1953, page 339.

New York Approves Nine Constitutional Amendments

All nine proposed amendments to the constitution of New York State[1] were ratified at the November 3 election by large majorities ranging up to more than three to one. The smallest majority was for No. 3, whereby the candidates of the various parties for governor and lieutenant governor are to be linked together for voting purposes; this carried by approximately 900,000 to 600,000.

New Mexico Approves Seven Amendments; Rejects Four

At a special election on September 15, the voters of New Mexico passed upon eleven proposed amendments to the state constitution. In its 39 years of state-

[1]See the REVIEW, September 1953, page 401.

hood, New Mexico has voted 23 times on constitutional amendments, approving 34 out of 87 proposals, according to the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico. The latest eleven and the results are as follows:

1. Municipal bond elections to be held at any time; veterans exempt from property taxes to be permitted to vote at such elections. Defeated, 14,546 to 12,698.

2. Eliminate restrictions on sale of liquor to Indians. Carried, 18,410 to 11,875.

3. Governor to have twenty instead of three days to act on bills presented to him by the legislature in the last three days of session. Carried, 17,787 to 10,351.

4. Legislative vacancies to be filled by the county commissioners in one-county districts and by the governor in multi-county districts from a list submitted by county commissioners (one name per county). Carried 16,749 to 10,758.

5. Legislators to receive $20, instead of $10, per day. Carried 13,822 to 13,567.

6. Present veteran's property tax exemption to extend to veterans of "armed conflicts under orders of the President" (covering the Korean engagement). Carried, 20,700 to 7,900.

7. Regular legislative sessions (in odd-numbered years) extended from 60 to 90 days; a 30-day session to be held in even-numbered years, to consider specified topics only. Defeated, 17,241 to 9,562.

8 and 9. Salaries of members of Supreme Court and district courts to be set by the legislature. Carried (8) 14,727 to 12,114; (9) 13,611 to 12,998.

10. To provide for absentee voting. Lost, although 20,668 votes in favor and 7,108 against. Attorney general ruled that as the amendment failed to receive a two-thirds majority in ten counties, it did not meet constitutional requirements.

11. To establish a permanent trust fund from severance taxes on natural resources, with certain restrictions on handling and use. Defeated, 16,225 to 10,404.

New Jersey Legalizes Bingo and Raffles

New Jersey voters gave overwhelming approval on November 3 to a constitutional amendment to legalize bingo and raffles for religious, charitable, educational or other "public-spirited" purposes in any municipality in which a voting majority gives approval.

No Rewriting of 1874 Pennsylvania Constitution

A proposal to call a convention to rewrite Pennsylvania's 79-year-old constitution failed of adoption at the November 3 election. It was supported by the two major political parties but was opposed by the State Grange and other groups. Philadelphia favored revision by a substantial majority, which was overcome by adverse votes in other parts of the state. Similar proposals were voted down in 1891, 1921, 1924 and 1935. Many specific amendments have been approved, however.

Nebraska's Unicameral Legislature Threatened

Republicans and Democrats in Nebraska have joined in a bipartisan committee to sponsor a constitutional amendment which would restore the old two-house legislature. The group proposes to circulate petitions and put the proposition on the November 1954 ballot, thereby asking the voters to scrap the nonpartisan one-house legislature which was adopted nearly twenty years ago.

This comes as a direct result of a long 1953 regular session, the longest in the history of the state—113 legislative days—a session marked with some public

dissatisfaction over legislative handling of the recurring problems of taxation and finance, highways, water diversion and the largest budget in history.

If successful at the polls—assuming the petition itself is successful—there would be a House of Representatives having not less than 80 nor more than 100 members, for a two-year term, commencing in 1957, and also a Senate, with 30 to 40 members. Both would be elected on a partisan ballot. Representatives would be apportioned on a population basis of equal numbers while the Senate would be selected on a district basis, using the four congressional districts as a basis for equal geographical distribution. A provision for compulsory redistricting, similar to one used in Missouri, would be included in the plan.

Until the 1953 legislative session most observers had concluded that the controversy over the adoption of the unicameral plan had largely subsided. Throughout the sixteen years of operation, however, there has been a sizable group which accepted it belatedly and grudgingly. Among the more vocal are veterans of the old two-house legislature, some of whom never served in the one-house body. On the other hand, the great opponent of the one-house plan twenty years ago was tradition and it may now become a force in favor of retention.

The old arguments against the 1934 unicameral amendment have been dusted off again and will be heard during 1954. Most of them center upon lack of party responsibility and political leadership, while others claim that the present legislature of only 43 members cannot do all the work required, whereas with two houses the work could be divided. Rural political leaders have always maintained that the urban areas have more than their share of representation, although the reverse is actually true.

Supporters of the unicameral legislature already have commenced a campaign in its defense and it is likely to be vigorous.

A. C. Breckenridge
University of Nebraska

Wisconsin 'Areacrats' Blocked by Court

The area-population apportionment amendment to the Wisconsin constitution, approved in a referendum on April 7, as well as legislation based on it,[1] was declared invalid on procedural grounds by a decision of the State Supreme Court on October 6. The court unanimously held that the amendment contained several separate questions that should have been presented separately to the voters; also that the referendum question did not correctly describe the amendment, particularly in that the use of town, village or ward lines as boundaries of apportionment districts was indicated as mandatory, although in the amendment it was discretionary with the legislature.

Along with the amendment the 1953 statute redistricting the State Senate on a basis including both area and population, became ineffective.

The largely rural "areacrat" majority in the present legislature had recessed the 1953 session so that it could take further action on reapportionment in case the court decision went against it; but the court is reported to have said, in effect, that no further legislation was possible until 1961, after the next federal census, or until a valid constitutional amendment may be enacted, including a change in the provision that only one apportionment may be made in each ten-year period.

The court decision places in effect the so-called Rosenberry reapportionment act of 1951, based on population as required by the constitution. No reapportionment had been made either in 1931

[1]See the Review, June 1953, page 285.

or 1941, largely because of rural opposition.

Arizona Apportionment Meets Snags

The constitutional amendment providing reapportionment in Arizona, adopted at the polls on September 29,[1] has run into legal difficulties. In the closing hours of the special legislative session called by the governor,[2] the Senate failed to act upon the question of seating two newly appointed legislators from former single-member counties whose quotas were increased to two each by the amendment. This may open the way for a court test to determine the effective date of that part of the amendment dealing with the Senate. The section apportioning two senators to each county, unlike that limiting the size of the House to 80 members, is silent on the question of date of operation. The president of the Senate has indicated he will initiate quo warranto proceedings asking the two appointees by what right they requested seats in the special session.

A suit has already been filed in the Maricopa Superior Court challenging the constitutionality of the amendment on the ground that it contains more than one subject.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Overdue Louisiana Districting Further Delayed

Reapportionment of the state of Louisiana for legislative elections, which the legislature has failed to accomplish since the 1930 census despite a constitutional mandate, remains undone three years after the 1950 census, and the governor, according to the U. S. Conference of Mayors, suggested a delay until after the 1960 census and the enactment of legislation as to procedure. In that case the legislature will have failed to reapportion for 30 years after being called upon to do so by the state constitution.

[1]See the REVIEW, November 1953, page 514.

[2]See page 577, this issue.

Massachusetts State-local Conference Made Permanent

A conference of state, county and municipal officials in Massachusetts, called by Governor Christian A. Herter, was held in Boston on October 27 and was attended by over 300 such officials. Panel discussions of common problems were conducted. A resolution to make the conference a semi-annual or more frequent event was adopted.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The township of PARSIPPANY-TROY HILLS, NEW JERSEY, (1950 population 15,290) adopted a council-manager charter on November 3, in place of the existing township committee form of government. The vote was 2,279 to 1,684. The charter was drafted by a commission of five members and submitted to the citizens at a town meeting on July 30.

WETHERSFIELD, CONNECTICUT, (12,533) voters adopted a town charter providing for the council-manager plan, 3,431 to 2,291. It will go into effect July 1, 1954.

BRAWLEY, CALIFORNIA, (11,922) the city council of which has established the position of city administrator, as reported in October (page 462), has been placed by the International City Managers' Association on its official list of council-manager cities.

The town of SHREWSBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, (10,594) adopted a selectman-town manager plan of government by a vote of 1,963 to 880. The plan had previously been passed on by the state legislature.

MT. HOLLY, NEW JERSEY, (8,206) adopted the manager plan on November

3, according to the close unofficial count of 1,260 to 1,227.

St. Marys, Pennsylvania, (7,846) has recently adopted the council-manager plan.

Oak Park, Michigan, (5,267) which has had a modified manager plan for several years, has adopted a council-manager charter.

Herndon, Virginia, (1,461) recently adopted the manager plan.

Cordova, Alaska, (1,165) adopted a manager ordinance on October 6, under the provisions of territorial law. The vote was 158 to 151.

Dorval, (8,300) and Victoriaville, Quebec, recently adopted the council manager plan.

On November 3, Haverhill, Massachusetts, voted 8,621 to 6,351 to retain the council-manager plan.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, on November 3, the voters rejected the council-manager plan by a margin of 5,680, while electing Mayor D. B. Brunton, Democrat, to his fifth two-year term, 32,839 to 21,248. In a Democratic sweep only two Republicans were elected to the 26-member city council. Springfield defeated a manager proposal in 1949 by a margin of 3,660.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, the ruling of the board of registrars that there were insufficient valid signatures on a petition for replacing the council-manager plan by the mayor-council plan has been sustained by the appeal board.

The appeal board in Brockton, Massachusetts, dismissed a petition for a vote on the council-manager plan which had been certified by the board of registrars as having sufficient valid signatures. The Brockton Taxpayers Association petitioned the Superior Court for a review; the court set the matter for November 19, thus keeping the referendum off the ballot at the November 3 election. If a favorable decision is obtained, the question will appear on the ballot in November 1955.

The town of Concord, Massachusetts, will vote February 22 on adoption of a selectman-manager form of government.

In Hartford, Connecticut, partisan politics was injected for the first time in the nonpartisan elections under the council-manager plan, adopted in 1947. The Democratic organization endorsed a slate of council candidates, five of whom were successful on November 3, making a majority of the nine-member council.

In Rome, New York, nonpartisan candidates won six of the nine seats on the city council that will take office in January to inaugurate the council-manager plan approved in 1951 and appoint the manager. Republican candidates for the council had been pledged to name the present Republican mayor to the post of manager if they obtained control of the council.

Fulton, New York, defeated a proposed council-manager plan on November 3, 2,769 to 913.

The township of Bridgewater, New Jersey, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on November 3. Englewood, in the same state, approved an advisory referendum on appointment of an administrator; Ramsey turned down a similar proposal. Irvington, Moorestown and Cedar Grove have elected charter commissions.

West Palm Beach, Florida, voted 4,776 to 1,708 on October 27 to retain its council-manager form of government. A proposal for an appointive, instead of elective, police chief was defeated 3,673 to 2,816, and a proposed Palm Beaches Water District, to acquire and operate a water system, was approved 3,791 to 2,612.

The Huntington, West Virginia, Chamber of Commerce board of directors, on October 16, instructed its municipal affairs committee to make a study of the council-manager plan and report to the board.

The DULUTH, MINNESOTA, League for Municipal Franchise, which has been studying various forms of city government, announced in October that it has come to favor the council-manager plan.

A petition signed by some 400 persons, calling for a referendum on the question of abandoning the council-manager plan, has been filed with the NEOSHO, MISSOURI, city council. The plan went into effect in Neosho in 1944.

Voters of HANNIBAL, MISSOURI, which adopted the council-manager plan in 1947, voted November 6 to abandon it, 2,599 to 2,029.

In GRENADA, MISSISSIPPI, which adopted the manager plan in 1951, a proposal to abandon the plan was defeated on October 24 by 681 to 286. The plan has been vigorously supported by the *Grenada County Weekly*.

A council-manager proposal for GERING, NEBRASKA, was defeated 595 to 166 on November 3.

In TRACY, CALIFORNIA, a citizens committee is studying the manager plan.

The MARYSVILLE, CALIFORNIA, city council has approved a majority report of the charter revision committee, which proposes various revisions under the existing form of government. Three of the fifteen committee members favored adoption of the manager plan and proposed a referendum on the issue. This proposal was rejected by the city council four to one.

In MAINE, where there are more managers than in any other state, organized in the Maine Town and City Managers' Association, six local groups or associations of managers in various areas of the state have been formed in the last five years, from the Aroostook association formed in 1948 to the Western Maine association in July 1953. Maine has 120 manager communities.

In IOWA fifteen of the seventeen managers met at the State University of Iowa October 23. A new constitution and by-laws were adopted.

In VERMONT fifteen of the state's twenty managers recently met at Northfield to discuss current problems of their communities.

New York Mayor-elect Picks 'City Administrator'

Mayor-elect Robert F. Wagner of New York City, Democratic candidate elected on November 3 by a large plurality, announced on November 10 that he plans to appoint Dr. Luther H. Gulick as so-called city administrator, when such position is created by necessary legislation. Dr. Gulick was director of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey during its three-year study. The committee's report, issued in March and April 1953,[1] included a recommendation for a coordinating officer with the title of city administrator.

The proposed office is fundamentally different from that of a city manager under the council-manager plan, who is appointed by the council and has full administrative authority. Mr. Wagner stated:

"I believe that a city administrator can be of great assistance to the mayor and to various commissioners and department heads of the administration. With responsibilities and functions along the lines of those recommended in the management survey report, the city administrator would assist the various commissioners without in any way intruding upon their authority.

"He would not have the power of appointment and the budget director would continue to report directly to the mayor and the board of estimate.

"It is to be understood that creation of the office of city administrator would be in addition to the post of deputy mayor."

[1] See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 232.

Mr. Wagner had previously announced that he would retain Robert Moses, from the present administration, as city construction coordinator, parks commissioner and various other titles. Mr. Moses had been a member of the management survey committee but resigned over a year ago.

Rhode Island Cities Win Nonpartisan Vote

Pawtucket and Central Falls, Rhode Island, will hold nonpartisan elections on January 19 for city officials, as provided by their new home rule charters, as a result of action by a special session of the state legislature.

The nonpartisan election provisions of the two charters having been held invalid by the State Supreme Court,[1] on the score that the legislature alone can pass election laws, Governor Roberts, at the request of Mayor Reynolds of Pawtucket, called a special session for November 13 to deal with the problem. The charters of the two cities provided that all existing offices would become vacant on January 4, 1954.

At the second and final day of the special session, bills were passed for both cities providing that nonpartisan elections be held January 19 and thereafter in November of odd-numbered years—unless the voters decide in a November 1954 referendum to return to partisan voting for local offices at regular general elections. The new officials will take office February 1 instead of January 4 as provided by the charters.

Newark and Rahway, New Jersey, Vote Mayor-council Charters

After a bitter campaign the commission plan of government in Newark, New Jersey's largest city (1950 population 438,776), was discarded in favor of the mayor-council plan by a vote of 53,739 to 28,142 on November 3. The change was opposed by three of the city commissioners and favored by two as well as by various civic, business and labor groups.

Under the new charter, which follows one of the plans provided for in New Jersey's optional municipal government law, one councilman will be elected from each of five newly established wards, and four will be elected at large, all on a nonpartisan ballot. The election will be on May 11, 1954, and the officials will take office on July 1.

The mayor must receive a majority of the total votes in the city and the five ward councilmen must have majorities in their wards, otherwise a run-off election will be held. Similarly, unless two or more of the candidates for the four at-large council posts receive majorities of the total vote, a run-off will be necessary.

The mayor will appoint department heads subject to council approval and also a business administrator, who may be given supervisory duties in addition to statutory responsibilities with respect to budget preparation, central purchasing and personnel.

The five present city commissioners were elected on May 11, 1953, supposedly for four-year terms.

The voters of Rahway, New Jersey, (21,290) also gave up the commission plan of government in favor of a mayor-council charter. The vote was 3,659 to 1,760.

Candidates Now Nominated by Petition in New London

New London, Connecticut, now votes for candidates nominated by petition. In November 1952, the voters favored nomination by petition but their decision was invalidated since the majority which voted in favor did not constitute a majority of the number voting at the entire election. On June 22, 1953, a further referendum was held under a special

[1] See the REVIEW, November 1953, page 515.

legislative act, and nomination by petition was legally authorized.

New Jersey Communities Refuse to Merge

Princeton Borough and Princeton Township, New Jersey, both declined to merge at a local referendum held on November 3. The township surrounds the borough.

Ogden, Utah, Sends Employees to College

More than 300 city employees of Ogden, Utah, have been taking evening courses at a local state college, to aid them in their city work. The cost to the city is about $2,500 this year. Each worker will get a certificate when he successfully finishes the course.

The broad training program grew out of Ogden's experience last year with two courses for specific employees. The first was a nine months' course for 60 police officers. The second was a special session for department and division heads on the technique of city administration, based on the training manual of the International City Managers' Association.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1953

DEAR MR. MARLOWE:

I am delighted to send greetings to everyone participating in the 1953 National Conference of the National Municipal League.

You know, I am sure, how enthusiastically I share the philosophy which motivates your meeting. The strengthening of local government, the enhancement of individual self-reliance in our society, the retention in the home, the community, the municipality, the state of those responsibilities properly residing there, are the very essence of sound governmental philosophy in our Republic.

As I have said before, distance in governmental affairs does not lend enchantment; it merely breeds indifference. Worse, it spawns that passion for power for its own sake which sets the stage for the ultimate destruction of American freedom.

In your meeting of municipal officials, of educators and other private citizens eager to promote good local government, you will surely strengthen the means of implementing community activity and of solving many of the problems facing those who practice it.

My best wishes go to all of you. May your meetings, important in concept to all of our people, be successful and instructive to all.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. L. E. Marlowe, General Chairman,
National Conference on Government,
Richmond, Virginia

County and Township . . . . . Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Onondaga County Defeats Proposed Charter

Would Have Provided for Appointment of Director

THE optional county director form of government, one of four available to New York counties under a 1952 law, was defeated in Onondaga County where it was submitted to referendum on November 3. The vote was 32,619 to 25,791. The proposal carried in the city of Syracuse, 18,060 to 16,129, but was heavily defeated in the nineteen towns, 16,490 to 7,731.

The plan provides for the appointment, by the board of supervisors, of an executive who would be responsible to it. He would be general coordinator of services and have certain special powers over county finance. The plan is somewhat similar to the manager option provided by the same law except that the executive does not have the same powers of appointment or of initiation of organizational change as does the manager.[1] The law also provides that the director must be a resident of the county.

The spark for the movement to secure the director plan was provided by the Governmental Research Bureau of Syracuse and a Citizens Committee for County Director. The latter conducted a vigorous campaign for its adoption.

Manager Plan Suggested for Wayne County, Michigan

Some of the members of the board of supervisors of Wayne County (Detroit), Michigan, have suggested that a county manager or single executive head be set up for the county. At a recent meeting of the ways and means committee of the very large board of supervisors the proposal was advanced by a board of commerce secretary and supported by the mayor of Dearborn.

Under the present setup, a three-member board of auditors, each paid $13,500 a year, has many functions akin to general administrative supervision of the county. If a single executive were put in its place there would be a substantial saving of money.

Up to now the proposal has not received appreciable or serious political support but rather has been used as a minor political football in Wayne County's pattern of local politics.

King County to Try Again?

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington, is again interested in a home rule charter for the county. A proposed county manager charter, defeated by the voters in November 1952, was strongly supported by the league and a recent issue of its publication, the *Seattle Municipal News,* featured the question of a new proposal.

The *News* cites the experience of Montgomery County, Maryland, where the citizen movement for a home rule charter was turned down in 1944. A new commission was elected in 1946 and its proposed county manager charter was approved in 1948.

In King County a commission of freeholders could be elected to draft a new charter at the 1954 election. The board of county commissioners could submit the question or it could be brought about by means of a petition. The commission would then go about its work of drawing up a new charter to submit to the voters in the fall of 1956.

[1]See "New County Plans Offered," by Richard A. Atkins. The REVIEW, June 1952, page 288.

Tennessee Amendments Affect Counties

Three of the eight constitutional amendments adopted by the voters of Tennessee on November 3 have an important bearing on counties.[1] Amendment No. 6 (unofficial vote, 106,687 for to 44,019 against) aims at prohibiting "ripper" legislation. This term refers to private acts designed to remove municipal and county officials from office or to change their pay or terms of office during the period for which they have been elected. Tennessee has had a long history of abuse of local self-government by way of legislative interference in local affairs, particularly the legislative reversal of decisions made by the voters. The amendment also provides that no future private acts can go into effect in any municipality or county unless approved by the local voters or by a two-thirds vote of the local governing body.

Amendment No. 8 (101,517 to 46,394) provides for the consolidation of certain municipal and county functions. While the legislature has had power to provide for such consolidation in the past, the new amendment states that a majority of city voters as well as of county voters must approve any such consolidation before it goes into effect.

Missouri County Road Program Progresses

Under county aid highway legislation passed in 1946, as amended on several occasions up to the present time, counties in Missouri have made considerable progress in improving some 13,000 miles of local roads. A detailed study of the Missouri experience is included in the October 1953 issue of *Better Roads*.

Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the legislature to provide increased state aid in the years following World War II and the net result has been a progressively more generous state aid policy. Local interest and participation have remained at a high level; counties have even contributed more than they have been required to. Planning a general county-wide road system has been encouraged as well.

[1]For an account of the referenda see page 562, this issue.

Counties Get Cut in Airport Funds

Counties in a number of states have been severely hurt by the cut-back in federal funds available for the construction of airports. For example, four counties of North Carolina that had formed a joint airport authority now believe their program of airport construction will probably not go ahead because it was conditioned on the idea of substantial federal support.

Wisconsin Forest Aid Payments Challenged in Courts

A legal issue involving payments from the state of Wisconsin to its local subdivisions has been presented to the State Supreme Court. Under legislation in effect for more than a quarter of a century, Wisconsin has subsidized, from general state funds, the towns, counties and school districts in areas affected by the state's forest crop law. The payments are made in lieu of taxes.

The forest crop law provides for a system of tax benefits by which land owners are encouraged to grow tree crops on a long-term basis. They are taxed at the rate of ten cents an acre, which is considerably lower than the local property tax rate. The state has subsidized such towns for tax losses at ten cents an acre as a property tax replacement.

The issue before the court, according to *Wisconsin Counties* (publication of the Wisconsin County Boards Association), is whether the state can legally appropriate such subsidies out of the general tax fund, in view of the fact that there is a special forestry tax, levied under a constitutional amendment, to support the state's forestry program.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cambridge Votes Again to Retain P. R.

Six Cities Elect Their Councils by Hare Plan

THE November 3 elections found P.R. very much in the news, particularly in Massachusetts, and the news is good. Elections under the Hare system for city councils and school committees were held in Worcester, Cambridge, Revere and Lowell. City councils were elected in Cincinnati and Hamilton, Ohio. All these cities have council-manager charters, under which the council appoints the manager and controls the city government.

In Worcester the nonpartisan Citizens' Plan E Association elected seven councilors out of nine for the second time in a row. In Cincinnati the corresponding City Charter Committee came back from two years in the minority to elect five councilmen out of nine. Both groups have been the foremost champions of P.R. in their cities. We expect to have full accounts of these and other P.R. elections in future issues.

In Cambridge a second attempt to repeal the use of proportional representation was submitted to the voters, who retained it by a wider margin than they did a year ago. The vote was 19,372 to 16,495, as compared with 25,068 to 23,030 in 1952. Under the law opponents of the plan are barred from trying again for four years.

Leaders in the Cambridge campaign report that the fight to retain P.R. was aided greatly by the adverse publicity on the Boston primary this fall, in which only some 23 per cent of the voters came out. Boston has the same system which Cambridge would fall heir to should proportional representation be voted out. (See Boston story below.)

Editorializing on the subject, the Cambridge *Chronicle* for November 12 commented: "This makes the second consecutive year in which Cambridge voters have voted to retain P.R. Last year P.R. was retained by 2,038 votes and this year it won by 2,877. These two results show clearly that P.R. voting is more popular and has more friends in Cambridge than its outspoken enemies have ever been willing to admit. It also shows that a decisive number of Cambridge voters agree with us that P.R. is a vital and essential part of the machinery that has made our city manager plan work so well."

Lowell Holds Sixth P. R. Election

Two incumbent councilors (city councilmen) were defeated and three new members elected in the P.R. election of the nine-man city council of Lowell, Massachusetts. The count was close at several junctures, resulting in requests for a recount. The closest turning point was the elimination of John J. Mullen by a margin of one vote after the 25th counting operation. Councilor Nicholas C. Contakos was defeated by a margin of seven votes on the 29th counting operation.

No candidate received first choices in excess of the quota of votes necessary for election, 3,683. Councilor John Janas led the poll of first choices with 3,422. He was followed in the initial standings by Councilor Samuel S. Pollard, former Councilor and Mayor George A. Ayotte, Councilor Vincent Hockmeyer and Mayor

Henry Beaudry, all of whom were subsequently elected.

Another former mayor, Woodbury F. Howard, stood sixth in the tally of first choices but was outdistanced on subsequent transfers resulting from defeat of other candidates. He remained in the race to the end, however, and was the last to be declared defeated, at which point he stood 199 votes lower than the last candidate elected, George B. Murphy, Jr., who had stood only thirteenth in the field of 42 candidates in the tally of first choices.

The effectiveness of the Hare system of P.R. in concentrating the vote on the really popular candidates without prematurely narrowing the field of preference is shown in this contest by the election of Councilor Francis P. McMahon at an early stage although he had stood only eleventh in the count of first choices.

Others elected besides those mentioned above were Samuel A. Sampson and Councilor Bartholomew J. Callery, Jr. Following the count of council ballots, the votes cast in the school committee election were tabulated. All stages of these counts were reported in the Lowell *Sun* with its usual wealth of detail on election news.

Boston Dissatisfied with Election Process

Boston's 1949 reform charter is the subject of revision proposals to make the nine-member city council and the five-member school committee more representative. The charter now provides election of both bodies at large with run-off primaries to limit the candidates in the final election to twice the number to be chosen.

No Republican has been elected to either body in the two elections held under the present charter despite the fact that 111,500 Republican votes were cast against 235,000 Democratic in the city in the last state governorship contest. Only one of the eighteen candidates for council who survived the poorly attended primary election last September was an avowed Republican, and he ran thirteenth in the subsequent election. Not one of the ten candidates for school committee positions nominated at the primary was a Republican.

Limited Vote Suggested

Republican Senate Majority Leader Charles J. Innes of the Back Bay section accordingly has filed a bill to set up a "limited voting" arrangement in Boston municipal elections. This would limit voters to casting no more than five votes for council candidates instead of nine and three votes for school committee candidates instead of five. There is some question whether even this would assure the election of a Republican, representing less than a third of the voters, unless the party can succeed in establishing greater discipline among its voters than its rivals.

Democratic legislators likewise look askance at the Boston election returns, finding fault with the geographic distribution of the residences of those elected. Representative James A. Burke of Hyde Park has introduced a bill for a ward system of election, a measure which would also increase the size of the council to eleven. Representative Burke found that despite the affiliation with his party of most of those elected under the new charter, "a privately-designed political machine, disguised as a virtue-promoting civic betterment organization, is attempting to seize control of city agencies for personal and group advantage." He gave the Republicans credit for the success of the New Boston Committee, which he deplored in his remarks, adding: "This substitution of a so-called reform charter is nothing else but a creation of a Republican-controlled legislature to try to prevent control of Boston's affairs by a government repre-

(Continued on page 577)

Census Bureau Estimates Revenues for 1952

Compares Tax Yields for All Government Levels with 1942

COMBINED federal-state-local tax collections in 1952 reached a level nearly four times that of 1942, according to an analysis prepared by the Governments Division of the United States Bureau of the Census. By far the largest increase by jurisdictions was in federal taxes, while by type of tax the individual income tax was far in the lead; federal tax collections in 1952 were nearly five times those of 1942 and individual income taxes were more than eight times those of the earlier year.

Total tax collections by all levels of government in fiscal years ending in 1952 were roundly $79,067,000,000 compared with $20,797,000,000 in fiscal 1942. This was a gain of 280.2 per cent. Taxes only are included—individual income; corporation income; sales, gross receipts and customs excises; property taxes; death and gift taxes; and licenses, permits and similar compulsory tax charges. Excluded are such important state-local revenues as service charges, fines, fees, rents, interest and the like, as well as fiscal aid.

Federally-collected taxes alone totaled $59,744,000,000, up 386.9 per cent from the $12,270,000,000 for 1942. State collected taxes amounted to $9,857,000,000, up 152.5 per cent from the $3,903,000,000 for 1942, while locally collected taxes were $9,466,000,000, up 104.7 per cent from $4,624,000,000 for 1942.

By far the leading tax was the individual income tax, which accounted for $28,919,000,000 in 1952 compared with $3,527,000,000 in 1942, a gain of 719.9 per cent. The gain in the federal income tax was of course the greatest—this item was $27,021,000,000 for 1952, 758.8 per cent higher than in 1942. State income taxes totaled $913,000,000, up 266.1 per cent from 1942, while local income taxes were a mere $85,000,000, up 213.0 per cent over the decade.

Second in yield, and in gain over 1942, were corporation income taxes, computed to include excess profits taxes as well as normal and surtax collections. Corporation taxes in 1952 totaled $22,072,000,000, up 341.6 per cent from 1942, an increase, it is to be noted, only half that shown by individual income taxes. Federal collections represented $21,226,000,000 of the total and were 349.1 per cent higher than in 1942. State collections were $846,000,000, up 211.8 per cent, and local collections were $8,000,000, up 159.1 per cent.

Income Tax Collections

The income tax collections, individual and corporation combined, represented 82.2 per cent of total federal tax receipts, it is to be noted, but only 9.5 per cent of the state-local total. Leading revenue producers among state taxes were, of course, the sales and gross receipts taxes, producing $5,730,000,000 in 1952 compared with $2,218,000,000 in 1942, an increase of 158.4 per cent. However, federal sales and gross receipts taxes, including customs, exceeded the state collections and amounted to $9,332,000,000, up 179.9 per cent from 1942. Local collections of sales taxes, etc., was $627,000,000, up 371.3 per cent from 1942. In total for all levels of government, sales and gross receipts taxes amounted to $15,689,000,000, 176.0 per cent higher than in 1942.

The final major component of the tax collections was the property tax, aggregating $8,652,000,000, an increase of 90.7 per cent over the $5,685,000,000 in 1942

The bulk of the property tax receipts were for local governments, $8,282,000,000 or 93.8 per cent above 1942. State property taxes accounted for the remaining $370,000,000 and were 39.9 per cent higher than in 1942.

The other two components included in tax receipts as compiled in the study were death and gift taxes, aggregating $1,032,000,000 or 94.8 per cent above 1942, and licenses, permits and similar compulsory charges, $2,703,000,000 or 77.7 per cent above 1942. About three-fourths of the death and gift taxes accrued to the federal government, while of the licenses, etc., the states received $1,795,000,000, the local units $462,000,000, and the federal government $445,000,000.

Non-tax Receipts

Tax receipts alone fall short of disclosing the total revenues available for governmental purposes, of course, since there are receipts at all levels of government from a variety of other charges and collections, as well as intergovernmental payments representing fiscal aid and reimbursements. Governmental revenues from all sources except fiscal aid in 1952 were estimated to total $101,105,000,000, including the $79,067,000,000 taxes above discussed, $10,188,000,000 from service charges, sales and other miscellaneous sources, $3,140,000,000 from state and local liquor stores and water, electric and transit enterprises, and $8,710,000,000 from employer and employee contributions for insurance trust systems and the investment earnings of such systems.

The total of such governmental revenues was divided $72,625,000,000 federal, $10,944,000,000 state, and $11,671,000,000 local. In addition, there was in the aggregate approximately eight billion dollars of intergovernmental payments, largely subventions and grants and other fiscal aid. The federal government transferred roundly $2,600,000,000 to state and local governments. The states received about $2,500,000,000 from the federal and local governments, and distributed $5,000,000,000 to their local governments. Local governments received about $5,300,000,000 from the state and federal governments, and in turn distributed about $500,000,000 to the states and other local governments.

Data on expenditures are less informative from the fiscal point of view, since the study substituted capital outlays for debt redemption. The resulting aggregates are of importance to economists and others interested in the impact of governmental expenditures on the national economy as a whole, but present an unrealistic picture as to local governments and in part as to the states. This is because local governments almost wholly, and the states to a substantial extent, finance their capital improvements mainly from the proceeds of borrowings, raising the money by issuing bonds which have stated maturities which must be met. Bond redemption is thus an important component of state and local expenditures, but is not reflected in the expenditure statistics as presented in the Census Bureau study.

Total expenditures in 1952 for current expenses, interest on debt and capital outlays were $101,451,000,000. The total was divided $56,125,000,000 for current expense of operation, $24,873,000,000 for capital outlays, $8,387,000,000 for assistance and subsidies, $6,577,000,000 for interest on debt, and $5,489,000,000 for insurance-trust system benefits and withdrawals. The federal government accounted for $70,568,000,000 of the total, the state governments for $10,790,000,000, and the local governments for $20,093,000,000.

The study represents the second compilation by the Census Bureau's Governments Division in recent years, attempting to provide aggregate data on federal-state-local revenues and expense set up to permit valid compari-

son between the three levels of government, and it incorporates numerous refinements as compared with the 1951 study to increase the comparability of the statistics. However, it falls far short of providing the essential data needed by students of local government on the trend and nature of revenues and expense set up on an informative and comparable basis to permit analysis of the changes which have occurred since 1942, when the last Census of Governments was taken.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that actual and comprehensive figures were available to the Bureau only for the federal government, the 48 states and the cities of over 25,000 population on which it regularly reports. Data for smaller cities and for the thousands of other local governments had to be estimated on the basis of sampling.

The techniques employed permit the presentation of national totals only, and leave state-local government officials and the host of other groups having a vital interest in up-to-date financial statistics still in need of state-by-state information. The lack is particularly discouraging because of the fact that had the 1952 governments census been taken as urged by numerous state-local official and advisory groups there would have been available by this time at least preliminary data to provide the badly needed bench-marks to supersede the outmoded 1942 census.

Few State-local Propositions Presented at Elections

The November 1953 elections saw the presentation of the usual assortment of propositions seeking authorizations for issuance of bonds, but relatively few proposals to amend state constitutions and city charter provisions respecting finances and financial administration. The only major constitutional change affecting financial matters so far reported, in fact, was an amendment to the Tennessee constitution. Among eight amendments approved by Tennessee voters was one abolishing the state's poll tax.

According to preliminary compilations by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* state and local voters were called on to decide whether bond issues aggregating close to one billion dollars should be issued. Despite rather overwhelming opposition to such proposals in some sections—in Colorado press reports state that only one authorization was granted—it appears that actual ratification ran between 80 and 90 per cent of the total submitted. Largest single authorization was approval by Ohio voters of a $500,000,000 highway bond issue. Two years ago, voters of the same state had approved $300,000,000 for a toll road, the bonds payable solely from tolls; proceeds of the recent authorization will be used for free roads.

Other major issues approved include $76,400,000 by voters of Philadelphia for a variety of improvements; $38,956,000 by voters of St. Paul; $36,000,000 by voters of Chicago; $35,000,000 by voters of Cleveland for subways; and $20,000,000 by voters of Detroit, for sewer improvements. Apparently the largest proposal to be defeated was that of San Francisco to issue $16,684,000 for various purposes, including improvements to the street railway system.

At the election in November 1952, approvals of state and local bond issues had totaled about one billion dollars. While this year's approvals evidently will fall somewhat short of last year's total, the volume is so large as to indicate continued large-scale borrowing by state and local units for many months to come. For the first ten months of 1953, approvals by voters aggregated approximately $839,251,000, according to *The Daily Bond Buyer*'s compilations, compared with $1,003,818,000 for the same 1952 period. Authorizations for all of 1952 had been $2,383,970,000.

By way of comparison, actual sales of new bonds by state and local units totaled $4,360,576,000 in the first ten months of 1953. For the comparable 1952 months, the total had been $3,768,378,000. The current year was set to establish a new financing record of sales well over the four and one-half billion dollar mark, and perhaps come very close to five billion. In all of 1952, new issues had totaled $4,401,317,000, the first total to go over four billion dollars.

Arizona Special Session Accomplishes Little

The special session of the Arizona legislature was adjourned on November 3 after 22 days of fruitless wrangling during which it failed to enact legislation to implement any of the proposals in the governor's original call. That call asked for revision of the state income, sales and luxury tax laws, the levying of a use tax and the assessment of real estate throughout the state at 50 per cent of market value.

The session enacted one law, requested by the governor in addition to his original call, which provided for a $41,321 supplemental appropriation for the State Health Department.

The total cost of the special session amounted to approximately $75,000.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 573)

sentative of the people." Burke warned[1] against the limited voting proposal as a further attempt to limit the choice of the electorate and counted on his proposal to restore the ward plan to yield the kind of representative government he favored.

An editorial in the Worcester *Gazette*, commenting on the Boston primary election, at which only some 23 per cent of the eligible voters turned out, presented a third view of the shortcomings of Boston's election system:

"Boston's experience shows the value of proportional representation voting, which Worcester has, as against the run-off system of Plan A. The Boston primary named 28 nominees, from which the voters in November will choose nine councilors and five school committeemen. Such a primary is superfluous. Under P.R. Worcester elects both council and school committee with absolute fairness and equal opportunity in one trip to the polls."

[1]As quoted in the Boston *Globe* on November 5.

P. R. League Holds Discussion, Elects Officers

The Proportional Representation League met in Richmond, Virginia, November 11, in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. Presiding was Andrew B. Holmstrom, mayor of the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, who was elected president of the P.R. League last year. The meeting was devoted to a survey of the year's developments and an informal discussion of the problems of P.R. and their solution. The need for more activity on behalf of the principle was emphasized.

Reelected to office were five of seven trustees: Richard S. Childs of New York, chairman of the executive committee of the National Municipal League; Robert P. Goldman of Cincinnati, attorney; Mr. Holmstrom; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the League; Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, its vice president. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, and Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman*, were elected to the board to fill the vacancies caused by the resignation of Paul H. Douglas, U. S. Senator from Illinois, and the death of J. Henry Scattergood, of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania.

NACS Makes Civic Awards

Citizen Publications Cited for Appearance and Content

AT THE annual meeting of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, five publications of local and state civic groups received citations. First place went to the Civic Club of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh; second to the Citizens Union of the City of New York; and third to the Toledo Municipal League. Commendation was given to the Citizens League of Pawtucket and the Mississippi Economic Council.

The organization held two sessions on November 8 and 9 in connection with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Richmond, Virginia. Officials for the coming year were elected and members participated in a workshop on building membership.

In making the awards the judges offered these observations:

"It was a joy for us to note the work accomplished even by the least attractive of the presentations, because the communications work of civic and citizen associations is so very important that any kind of publication would be better than none.

"All the examples of communications before us show that a great deal of hard work had been accomplished—in many instances, we suspect, through the diligent and devoted effort of executive secretaries and those of similar title, who were already burdened with numerous other administrative duties.

"Throughout most of the entries, however, there appeared one outstanding fault: Not enough attention was paid to making the publications attractive in order to obtain the largest possible readership. Thus, in presenting the biographies of candidates for public office, larger type should have been used in most cases so as to make the information easier to read by persons of all ages and in all stations of life. Photographs of candidates should accompany such sketches.

"Furthermore, in some instances, the language used might be termed a bit too technical except to those who are accustomed to think in terms used by municipal governmental authorities. A better effort should have been made in some instances to bring the language down to the level of the average or ordinary citizen, whose interest and concern must be sought just as much as the better informed and more intelligent.

"Your judges would be unfair in offering these suggestions unless we accompanied them with some plan for correcting the conditions noted. We are quite aware that most citizen associations operate on limited budgets and are unable to publish literature and other pieces of information in the style which they would like. Realizing that situation, we are not suggesting the use of any de luxe presentations, such as one would expect from big business and industry.

"Rather we are suggesting to these associations that they make an earnest effort to obtain the services of professional publicity, advertising and public relations people to assist them with lay-out and content. Surely, there are such concerns in practically every city and surely some representatives of these concerns would be honored with the opportunity to contribute their professional talents to the cause of good municipal government in this way. If these services cannot be obtained gratis, then we are confident that they could be obtained a

cost. These people have the skills to enable the associations to get the most from every publication dollar expended.

"The important thing to remember here is that it is extravagant to publish information unless it is read. To be read, information must be attractively presented. In the face of all the published information thrown at the citizen today, it is only that which is attractively laid out and presented that has a chance. Too much of the other goes in the waste basket, or receives minimum attention.

"The judges also feel that there should have been more than ten entries. A greater effort should be made in the future to encourage more citizens' associations to enter this competition."

Chairman of the judges committee was Richard S. Gillis, director of public relations of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Other members were J. Stuart White, of the advertising firm of Alexander Hudgins Associates of Richmond, and George C. Robinson, executive secretary of the Richmond Retail Merchants Association.

Elect Officers

Robert J. M. O'Hare, executive secretary of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was elected president of the association. Other officials elected were: Raymond D. Black, executive director of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, and S. R. Jeffers, manager of the Research Department of the Mississippi Economic Council, vice presidents; Mrs. Charles G. Wilder, executive secretary of the Citizens Association of Kansas City, secretary; Edward G. Conroy, executive vice president of the San Antonio Research and Planning Council, treasurer; and Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Toledo Municipal League, chairman of the board.

Members of the nominating committee included Allen H. Seed, Jr., assistant director of the National Municipal League, chairman, Hazelle B. Scott, executive secretary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, and Guy C. Larcom, Jr., former director of the Citizens League of Cleveland.

Efforts of Massachusetts Citizens Bring Success

"Possibly helpful to those who may be thinking of doing something about a citizen's committee to help elect a good representative Plan E[1] city council is the story of what's going on in Cambridge," says the Gloucester (Massachusetts) *Times* of October 5.

"The Cambridge Civic Association was organized in 1945 by leaders of the Cambridge Plan E Committee, the Taxpayers Association and other groups seeking improved government. It is now a nonpartisan group of more than 3,000 members.

"The C. C. A. is under the leadership of Alan Steinert, a business executive. It is represented on the city council by five of the nine members. . . .

"Through a series of meetings, the endorsement committee of the Civic Association has carefully screened all the candidates and has come up with a slate which it feels will work for efficient and responsible government. . . . The endorsed candidates were presented to the public at an opening rally.

"The association 'has been able to encourage increasingly large numbers of competent, worthwhile citizens into seeking public office,' according to Mr. Steinert."

The Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, "is an amateur, volunteer organization whose members believe that good city government is not an accident but the result of hard work and careful planning," says the organization's *Election Guide*. In two

[1]The city council of Cambridge is elected by the Hare system of proportional representation.

elections by proportional representation the CEA has successfully backed a majority of the candidates elected to the city council and the school committee.[2]

"The CEA is a nonpartisan group whose sole interest is good government for Worcester. It favors no political parties, it engages in no political 'deals,' it has enjoyed the abuse of professional politicians who fondly recall the days of the previous city charter—drawn up in 1848 and providing for the second most unwieldy form of municipal government in the United States."

Membership in the organization is open to any resident of Worcester who is a citizen of the United States. Annual dues are one dollar, "deliberately set at that figure to encourage membership from all sections of the city and from all walks of life." Activities include civic affairs, the state legislature, membership, finance, publicity, education, candidate selection, research and speakers' bureau. CEA has one full-time employee and one part-time employee. The rest of its work is performed entirely by volunteers.

Improving the County

Your Stake in Your County (six pages), published by the Oakland [County] Citizens League at Pontiac, Michigan, describes the work the league is doing to improve county government. "The Oakland Citizens League has exercised a sobering influence for many years," says the leaflet.

"Among its achievements have been securing a grand jury investigation of racketeering in Oakland County; exposing irregular and illegal practices in connection with registration of voters in Pontiac; challenging the retention by county clerks of fees collected for naturalization; and putting the light of publicity on whether elected public officials need to provide service to be entitled to a salary. In addition to exposing inefficiency and corruption the league commends good public officials with the result that the league enjoys the respect and confidence of government officials who are doing a good job. And at election times more and more people look to the league for their appraisal and guidance when voting."

The September meeting of the Illinois Civic Exchange was devoted to a discussion of improving county government in Illinois. Panel speakers included Professor Clyde Snyder, of the Political Science Department of the University of Illinois, who spoke particularly on the county executive officer. He commented that most students of government agree that the most serious weakness of the present county structure is the absence of such an executive. He discussed four means of securing a county executive: the county manager plan, the appointive executive officer plan wherein the executive does not have as wide powers as a manager, an elective county executive plan, and the strengthening of one of the existing elective offices.

Other panel participants included Bert Vandervleit, who discussed the centralization of functions at the county level, and Elias S. Cohen, who talked on improving local welfare administration. The remarks of the panel members were followed by a general discussion. An eight-page mimeographed report of the meeting is available from the organization's secretary-treasurer, Samuel K. Gove, 1209 W. Illinois Street, Urbana, Illinois.

Letter to a Politician

The September issue of *Civic Affairs*, outspoken organ of the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, is an open letter to the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican committees of that city. The letter points out that the November election celebrates the 99th anniversary of

[2]This statement now applies also to the November 1953 election. (Ed.)

the territorial consolidation of the city and county of Philadelphia in 1854 and consolidation of the overlapping county governmental units into the city in November 1951.

"The first is now an historical fact," says the bulletin, "but among us, do you think the people have anything to celebrate concerning the second. They must again elect the old county officers in November and support them and their employees under the new title of 'city' officers and 'city' employees. Remember, gentlemen, those offices were to be abolished, taken off the ballot after 1951, and the duties consolidated with other existing city offices. . . .

"The people are presently wondering why these officials are still doing business at the old stand. It is obvious they will continue to do so until you two gentlemen stop compromising and bickering over useless elective and appointive jobs as a means of strengthening or reconstructing your vote-getting machines."

Here follows a detailed discussion of the officers to be elected and some cogent comments on the situation. Finally, says *Civic Affairs,* "Once you two gentlemen forget your dreams of 800 or 1,000 political jobs on the city payrolls for the victorious party in local elections, the citizens of Philadelphia will get the full advantages of city-county consolidation."

Getting Better Schools

Three excellent pamphlets have been published by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools: *How Can We Organize for Better Schools*—A Guidebook for Citizens' Committees (64 pages); *How Have Our Schools Developed?*—Background for Action (56 pages); and *How Can Citizens Help Their Schools?* (56 pages). Address of the commission is 2 West 45th Street, New York.

With the Women Voters

The League of Women Voters of Cincinnati reports that it distributed 75,000 copies of its *Who and What in Elections,* reporting on candidates and issues before the voters of that city.

In St. Louis the League of Women Voters has been studying the reports of two boards of freeholders appointed to study the city's sewer system and its metropolitan transit problem. Recommendations of the sewer board will be on the ballot in February. The league has organized committees on each subject and is seeking volunteer speakers to describe the sewer proposition to the voters.

The New Hampshire state league has set a goal of 1,000 members for this year and says that if each local league will increase its membership by at least ten the goal can be reached.

Citizen Manuals

Are you considering the formation of a civic organization in your community? Or campaigning for the council-manager plan or some other good cause? Then you'll surely want

THE CITIZEN ASSOCIATION—HOW TO ORGANIZE AND RUN IT
and
THE CITIZEN ASSOCIATION—HOW TO WIN CIVIC CAMPAIGNS

For further information and prices see the outside back cover of this issue of the REVIEW.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Research Activity Increases in Louisiana

Variety of Agencies Seek Solution to Vital Problems

LOUISIANA government and politics have frequently enjoyed the reputation of indicating a great deal more heat than light. For the past three years, however, a new interest has developed in bringing the problems of government under the light of objective study. Before 1950, organized research on problems of Louisiana government was confined primarily to the activities of the State University's Bureau of Government Research, Louisiana State Law Institute, New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research and occasional interim committees of the state legislature.

In 1950, however, a statewide citizens research organization was founded, the Public Affairs Research Council. In three years' time PAR has grown to include 1500 members, consisting of business and professional men and women, teachers and public officials. Its objective is the improvement of state and local government through an objective nonpartisan research and public information program.

In pursuance of this objective PAR has published a monthly analysis of state, local and national news of interest to Louisiana. It has published three citizen's guides. One, to the general state election of 1952, described the duties of each office involved and gave pertinent information about registration and voting. The *Citizen's Guide to the Legislature* explained to the layman the organization and functions of the legislature and pointed up areas for improvement in the legislative process. The third citizen's guide analyzed the 34 constitutional amendments proposed by the legislature for the November 1952 election.

Research studies of the council have explored such areas as municipal home rule, permanent registration, voter participation in Louisiana elections, the expenditures and debt of the state government, special sessions of the legislature and the organization of the executive branch. Two handbooks have been prepared; one outlines the organization and functions of each of the 142 state agencies of Louisiana and the other gives pertinent information about each of the 48 taxes levied by the state.

As a part of its public information program PAR has conducted radio forums in all the major cities of the state. It has held town meetings on the forms of local government. It prepares almost weekly press releases on governmental affairs which are widely used by Louisiana newspapers. Its question and answer service provides a means whereby any citizen can obtain information about governmental problems.

During the legislative session PAR issued a weekly legislative bulletin in which three or four major issues before the legislature were analyzed with background information and pros and cons. The legislature was sufficiently impressed to request the organization to make a survey of the entire welfare program of the state. This study is now being completed.

One of the methods for improving the legislative process pointed out by PAR in its *Citizen's Guide to the Legislature* was providing the legislature with research and bill-drafting facilities. The 1952 session passed an act establishing a Legislative Council. The council with its professional staff has already begun to establish itself as an invaluable legislative aid. It has published a major

study on the legislative process in Louisiana, and has prepared some 36 reports and an administrative survey of one of the state departments.

The Legislative Council's committee on the legislative process is now holding open hearings in the large cities on proposals to strengthen the organization and procedures of the legislature. Under the council's auspices two studies of long-range significance have been initiated and are being conducted by consultant groups, one a survey of the total educational program of the state on the primary and secondary level and the other a study of highway needs and finances that will include both state and local governments.

Constitution Study Published

The Louisiana State Law Institute has recently received an appropriation to publish the notes and studies it prepared while formulating a proposed draft of a new constitution for the state.[1] When published these four volumes will constitute an ambitious attempt to provide a constitutional convention with the help it needs. They will contain a history of Louisiana's ten constitutions, special research studies on the major substantive problems confronting the convention, a comparison of the draft and present constitution, section by section, with reasons for the changes and frequently comments on the practice in other states. Alternative provisions and discussions of the pros and cons of controversial provisions are also to be included.

The Louisiana League of Women Voters, having secured the passage of a permanent registration law at the last session of the legislature, is now conducting its own study of the need for constitutional revision and the best method of effecting revision in Louisiana.

One of the most unusual developments has been the organization of informal legislative study groups. These groups of legislators are independent of the Legislative Council although they are serviced by the council's staff. Over half the members of the legislature are members of at least one of these fifteen committees. The subjects under study by the committees include reforestation, constitutional revision, legislative reapportionment, property assessment, a stock law and the state hospitals and correctional institutions.

It is impossible to predict the effects of the studies and surveys now under way but they do indicate a new recognition in Louisiana that public problems require for their effective solution the light of study as well as the heat of action.

KIMBROUGH OWEN
Louisiana State University

[1]See "Blazing the Constitution Trail," the REVIEW, March 1948.

GRA Holds Annual Conference

The 39th annual Governmental Research Association Conference was held at French Lick Springs Hotel, Indiana, September 9 through 11. Governor George N. Craig of Indiana welcomed the conference with an address on the importance of fact-finding and research to the businesslike operation of government.

Panels dealt with citizen research bureau management, control of governmental authorities, public schools and the research bureau, urban transportation, new horizons in public health, current issues in social security, performance budgeting and the total price of government.

Summarizations of the sense of the panels on the subjects considered are to be found in a combined issue of the *GRA Reporter* for September-October-November-December. Several talks are printed in full: "Measuring Modern School Needs" by James W. McGrew,

"Issues in Social Security" by Jesse D. Winzenried, "Revamping Public Assistance" by George L. Nichols, "How Should Authorities Be Controlled" by Daniel L. Kurshan, "The Authority Concept" by Guy Savino, "Intergovernmental Relations" by Hon. Charles B. Brownson, congressman from Indiana, and "Where to Citizen Research?" by Louis D. Brown.

Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago, was elected president of the association to succeed Carlton W. Tillinghast, executive director of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association. Howard Friend, research director of the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce's Governmental Research Bureau, who headed up the local arrangements committee for the conference, was elected vice president; and John M. Leavens, executive director of Citizens Budget Commission of New York City, continues as treasurer.

The other trustees are Henry W. Connor, director, Newark Bureau of Governmental Research; Harold L. Henderson, executive director, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research; John P. Keith, senior associate, National Municipal League; Leslie J. Reese, vice president, Western Division, Pennsylvania Economy League; and Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director, Future Springfield (Massachusetts).

JOHN P. KEITH

History of Newark

The Development of Newark Government—A History of Changes in the Form and Structure of Local Government from 1666 to the Present (22 pages) has just been published by the Newark Bureau of Municipal Research. With the city's government entering a new chapter under a strong-mayor charter, this brief study furnishes its citizens with the chronology of their local government for almost three centuries.

From a seventeenth century town in which "the town government and the government of the Congregational Church were practically one and the same" the governmental structure of the community has undergone seven fundamental changes. These developments have been designed to meet the changing needs of the community as old forms have proved themselves inadequate.

Throughout its entire history administrative boards have played a dominant role in the government of Newark. The idea of administration by a board was carried over from the town government. Under the first city charter the council was responsible for administering various functions. In the course of time a number of separately elected boards were tried and finally, in 1917, a single commission was set up to administer all functions. Failures of the commission form were responsible for the new charter's unification of administration under the mayor.

A similar detailing of the administrative history of other localities would be most desirable and would place present structural arrangements in their proper historical perspective.

W. N. C.

Bureau Notes

The People Are the City is the title of a report on the first quarter century of the Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy in Baltimore, Maryland. It states that the commission "is continuously working for better city management, efficient handling of all details of government and guards good government for all those who live in Baltimore." The report notes that it is estimated that more than $150,000,000 have been saved by Baltimore taxpayers as a result of the commission's work.

The Portland (Oregon) City Club has recently reorganized its research activities to provide for more adequate

supervision of such activities and wider participation by its membership in research programs.

The Oklahoma Public Expenditure Council distributed an analysis of state problems to its entire membership prior to its annual meeting last month. Needs of the state with respect to top level administrative management, adequate fiscal controls and personnel management were emphasized.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Airport Authority

THE PHILADELPHIA AIRPORTS IMPROVEMENT AUTHORITY. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* October 6, 1953. 3 pp.

Annexation

A SUCCESSFUL ANNEXATION PROMOTION BY THE CITY OF MIDLAND. By Ray Fry. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review,* September 1953. 2 pp. 30 cents.

Assessments

URBAN ASSESSMENTS ACROSS CANADA. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government,* October 19, 1953. 6 pp.

Civic Education

THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY. An Aid to "Government by the People." By Richard Hartshorne. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* October 1953. 2 pp. 50 cents.

Cultural Activity

GERMAN MUNICIPALITIES AND THE PROMOTION OF CULTURE. By Karl Zuhorn. The Hague, Netherlands, International Union of Local Authorities, *I.U.L.A. Bulletin,* June-September 1953. 4 pp.

MUNICIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CULTURAL ACTIVITIES. By Clarence H. Elliott. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, *Public Management,* October 1953. 5 pp.

Disaster Relief

A LESSON IN DISASTER RELIEF. "Operation Waco." Austin 1, League of Texas Municipalities, *Texas Municipalities,* October 1953. 5 pp. 25 cents.

Efficiency

TOWARDS GREATER EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Complexity of Government. Chicago 2, The Civic Federation, *Bulletin,* October 1953. 2 pp.

Fluoridation

AN EVALUATION OF FLUORIDE IN NORTH DAKOTA WATER SUPPLIES. By Arthur E. Williamson and Jerome H. Svore. Bismarck, League of North Dakota Municipalities, *Bulletin,* November 1953. 3 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

EXTRATERRITORIAL PLANNING JURISDICTION FOR COLORADO MUNICIPALITIES. By Leo C. Riethmayer. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, *Colorado Municipalities,* September 1953. 3 pp. 35 cents.

NEW PROBLEMS FACING THE MUNICIPALITIES. By John B. Hynes. Richmond 19, *Virginia Municipal Review,* September 1953. 5 pp. 25 cents.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT. By R. M. Fisher. Manitoba, *Western Municipal News,* August and September 1953. 3 pages each.

Parking

PITTSBURGH'S PARKING AUTHORITY. By William R. B. Froehlich. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation, *Traffic Quarterly,* October 1953. 15 pp.

Personnel

IMPROVED PERSONNEL POLICIES IN OKLAHOMA. State highway employees will be advanced on basis of merit of performance, with equal compensation for similar kinds of work. New personnel plan expected to raise level of public service. By C. A. Stoldt. Chicago 2, *Better Roads,* September 1953. 2 pp.

LIMITED-TERM AND EXCEPTED APPOINTMENTS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE. A

Study of the Legal Provisions by Which They are Regulated in Fifty-nine Jurisdictions in the United States. By William C. Beyer. Philadelphia 4, 1953. iv, 186 pp. $3.00. (Apply author, 39th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia 4.)

Planning

THE IMPORTANCE OF NEW PLANNING LEGISLATION TO YOUR MUNICIPALITY. By Herbert H. Smith. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, *New Jersey Municipalities,* November 1953. 4 pp. 35 cents.

LONG-RANGE PLANNING, CAPITAL PROGRAMMING AND PLANNING COMMISSIONS. Address before the New York State Federation of Official Planning and Zoning Boards. New York City, the Port of New York Authority, 1953. 15 pp.

Public Health

CEREBRAL PALSY IN KENTUCKY. A Study of the State's Orthopedically Handicapped Children. Frankfort, Legislative Research Commission, 1953. vi, 63 pp.

Retirement

INTEGRATING SOCIAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC RETIREMENT SYSTEMS. Providence 3, Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, *Public Business,* September 1953. 2 pp.

TAXPAYERS BEAR MORE THAN THEIR SHARE OF THE COST OF CITY EMPLOYEES' PENSIONS. Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar,* October 1953. 3 pp.

Revenue Bonds

HOW MISSOURI CITIES ARE USING REVENUE BONDS. By Robert B. Fizzell. Columbia, Missouri Municipal League, *Missouri Municipal Review,* November 1953. 3 pp. 25 cents.

Taxation and Finance

CRITICS VIEW FEDERAL MOVE TOWARD SALES TAX. Chicago, American Municipal Association, *Washington Municipal News,* September 1953. 1 p.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REAL PROPERTY LEVIES IN NEW YORK, 1952 AND 1953. By Chester A. Phillips. Albany (New York), Empire State Chamber of Commerce, Department of Governmental Affairs. 1953. 27 pp.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING TOPS $20 BILLION. Washington 25, D. C., United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, November 3, 1953. 3 pp.

LOCAL REAPPRAISALS EMPHASIZE NEED FOR STATE ACTION. Boston 8, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *Taxtalk,* August-September 1953. 3 pp. 5 cents.

Township Government

TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT IN KANSAS. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, *Your Government,* October 15, 1953. 3 pp.

Traffic

THE DEMOCRATIC WAY. By George Goodwin. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation, *Traffic Quarterly,* October 1953. 11 pp.

Traffic Engineering

TRAFFIC ENGINEERING PROBLEMS IN CITIES UNDER 50,000 POPULATION. By Charles H. Davis, Jr. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation, *Traffic Quarterly,* October 1953. 10 pp.

Trailers

TAXATION AND REGULATION OF HOUSE TRAILERS AND CAMPS (with Model Ordinance). New Law Requires Cities and Villages to Revise Method of Taxing Trailers. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, *The Municipality,* October 1953. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Urban Redevelopment

REPORT ON TOLEDO'S REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. Toledo, *Toledo City Journal,* October 10, 1953. 3 pp.

Water Supply

PLANNING TO MEET THE GROWING NEED FOR WATER IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. By Max Bookman. Los Angeles 17, League of California Cities, *Western City,* October 1953. 5 pp.

Books in Review

Doctrine of the Separation of Powers and its Present-day Significance. (Second Lecture in the Roscoe Pound Lectureship Series.) By Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1953. 160 pp. $2.50.

This is a significant contribution to the rather neglected field of the doctrine of the separation of powers in American public law. In April 1952, Hon. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and dean emeritus of New York University School of Law, delivered three stimulating lectures on various aspects of the doctrine of the separation of powers.

The first lecture set out to treat the doctrine comparatively and historically. In it the eminent jurist shows a remarkable grasp of the history of political theory. It may be regretted that only written constitutions are referred to, in view of the fact that the so-called doctrine of the separation of powers was formulated by Montesquieu on the basis of an unwritten constitution, that of England, as he visualized it. Paradoxically, during the last 150 years this doctrine has been repeatedly rejected, officially and unofficially, as a principle of the British constitution, yet the record of British constitutionalism during this period is an impressive one.

The second lecture concerns itself not only with the functional distribution of powers (separation of powers) but also with the territorial distribution of powers (federalism). It is carefully documented and constitutes a strong statement against the New Deal and the Fair Deal. The third, and perhaps the most stimulating lecture, examine "judicial deference" as a grave cause of constitutional imbalance.

It is Chief Justice Vanderbilt's contention that we can not hope to maintain the way of life which we call American without exercising every effort to preserve to each branch of government its proper sphere and to the states and the union a due recognition of their proper functions. It would appear to this reviewer that the lost constitutional balance can hardly be "recovered" by a return to the doctrine of the separation of powers and the observation of the "proper" spheres. There are few students of government who would disagree with Montesquieu, Lord Acton and Chief Justice Vanderbilt as to the danger inherent in any scheme of concentrated powers of government but one may be skeptical as to the adequacy of the eighteenth century institutional devices to restrain a powerful twentieth century machinery of government.

Ellen Wilkinson's statement, which is quoted by the author, is indeed pertinent: "Nothing is so dangerous in a democracy as a safeguard which appears to be adequate but which is really a façade." What seems to be urgently needed is a comprehensive reexamination of the traditional institutional devices and a systematic exploration of possible new checks and balances which could be expected to function more effectively.

Gisbert H. Flanz
New York University

Public Administration (third edition). By John M. Pfiffner and R. Vance Presthus. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1953. viii, 626 pp. $6.

This new edition is a well balanced introductory treatment of the field of public administration. Both formal and informal elements of organization are considered in this carefully written volume. The role of bureaucracy is brought into its proper perspective as the operating agency of the modern state.

Traditional concepts of administration

are identified as "proverbs and myths." They are neither accepted nor rejected dogmatically but rather are subjected to realistic questioning.

The authors emphasize the dynamic character of administration as a part of the democratic framework. The importance of executive leadership is stressed both as a "vital dynamic of administration" and as a central goal of public personnel programs. The treatment of the mechanics of personnel and finance administration gives a most readable introduction to these important matters.

The significance of basic values and value judgments in connection with decision-making is a recurring theme of the text. This theme, appropriately, reaches its most specific expression in the concluding chapter on administrative ethics.

Both teacher and student will find this a provocative work. Some teachers will disagree with specific positions taken by the authors. However, any variation in views should challenge the teacher to articulate his disagreements and thus increase the vitality of the course for the students.

WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.

MUNICIPAL CHARTER REVISION IN NEW JERSEY. By Benjamin Baker. New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1953. 27 pp. 50 cents.

This pamphlet has been published principally for the benefit of New Jersey citizens who find themselves serving as members of a municipal charter commission and for use by municipal officials. It is divided into two sections, the first being a summarization of the Optional Municipal Charter Law of 1950 (Faulkner Act).

This section describes the three basic plans of municipal government available to a New Jersey community: council manager, mayor-council and the small municipalities plan. Each plan in turn has options, five for council-manager, six for mayor-council and four variations for the small municipalities form of government. Residents of other states interested in the optional law development in New Jersey will find this the most useful section of the study.

The second section is devoted to suggestions concerning the organization and functions of charter commissions under New Jersey law. Commission organization, the type of person needed for consultant, the law of commission financing, suggested commission action on such matters as the initial public meeting and subsequent public hearings, and the commission report are considered.

J. P. K.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Civic Education

SURVEY OF THE TEACHING OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS IN THE LOCAL SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRAM AS INTEGRATED SUBJECT MATTER. Lockport (New York), Board of Education, 1953. 14 pp.

Civil Defense

PROJECT EAST RIVER—THE STRATEGY OF CIVIL DEFENSE. Chicago 37, Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* September 1953. 55 pp. $1.00.

Collective Bargaining

BARGAINING. By Paul L. Poirot. Irvington-on-Hudson (New York), Foundation for Economic Education, 1953. 54 pp.

Contracts

THE LETTING OF CONTRACTS BY WISCONSIN CITIES AND VILLAGES. Legal Requirements and Procedure for Securing Bids and Letting Contracts. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1953. 61 pp. $3.00.

Directories

INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS. An Annotated List of Directories Useful in International Administration. By Katrine R. C. Greene. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1953. 64 pp. $2.80.

Education

EDUCATION FOR ONE WORLD. Annual Census of Foreign Students in Institutions of Higher Education in the United States—1952-1953. New York 21, Institute of International Education, 1953. 41 pp.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND ILLITERACY, October 1952. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 23 pp. 15 cents.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION REPORT. By Robert F. Will. Washington, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1953. 65 pp.

Ethics in Government

MORALITY IN GOVERNMENT. By Claude Pepper. (Reprint from *Journal of Law*, Fall 1952.) Emory University (Georgia), Emory University Law School, 1953. 13 pp.

Family Court

THE FAMILY COURT CENTER—Dedicated to the Preservation of the American Home. Toledo, *Toledo City Journal*, Supplement, October 24, 1953, 18 pp.

Foreign Government

GOVERNING POSTWAR GERMANY. By Edward H. Litchfield and Associates. Ithaca (New York), Cornell University Press, 1953. xvii, 661 pp. $7.75.

Housing

HOUSING AS ENVIRONMENT. A Report on the Research Conference, "The Role of Social Research in Housing Design," Sponsored by the Committee on Housing Research, Social Science Research Council, May 24-26, 1951, Ann Arbor, Michigan. By Frederick Gutheim. New York City, Columbia University, Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing Studies, 1953. 50 pp.

LET'S LOOK AT HOUSING. A Report on Housing Conditions in Selected Areas of Saint Louis. St. Louis 3, Housing Rehabilitation Coordinating Committee, 1953. 60 pp. Schedules and appraisal forms.

Industrial Development

THE COMMUNITY AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1953. 16 pp. $2.00.

AN OPPORTUNITY TO REBUILD CHICAGO THROUGH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE CENTRAL SOUTH SIDE. Chicago 16, South Side Planning Board, 1953. 31 pp. $2.00. Illus.

Legislation

LAWS PASSED BY THE 1953 PENNSYLVANIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY AFFECTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By Thelma J. Showalter and Paul E. Kilmoyer II. Harrisburg, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Internal Affairs, 1953. 19 pp.

Parking

SHOPPER BOTTLENECK. A Report on the Chamber of Commerce Parking Clinic. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of The United States, 1953. 67 pp. $1.00.

Parking Authorities

PARKING AUTHORITIES. By Edward G. Mogren. Saugatuck (Connecticut), Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1953. 125 pp.

Population

COORDINATION OF POPULATION ESTIMATES USED BY FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL AGENCIES. By Henry S. Shryock, Jr. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, October 12, 1953. 7 pp. 10 cents.

Public Library

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY BUILDING. A Report on the Fifth Institute on Public Library Management. Madison, Univer-

sity of Wisconsin, Bureau of Government, 1953. 71 pp. $1.00.

Recreation

SUMMER PROGRAMS ON CALIFORNIA PLAYGROUNDS, A GUIDE. Sacramento, California Recreation Commission, 1953. 132 pp.

Retirement Plans

PUBLIC PENSION PRIMER. A Handbook for New Jersey Citizens. A Quick Look at the Problem of Providing for the Retirement of State and Local Government Employees. Newark, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 20 pp.

Salaries

1953 MICHIGAN MUNICIPAL WAGES AND SALARIES. Supplement to League Bulletin 68. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, August 1953. 8 pp.

Taxation and Finance

1953 CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS (Parts I and II). Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* August and November 1953. 60 and 35 pp. respectively. 50 cents each.

FINANCIAL PROGRAM FOR ILLINOIS FOR 68TH BIENNIUM, 1953-1955. Springfield, Illinois Department of Finance, 1953. 23 pp.

Toll Roads

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE TO STUDY TOLL ROADS. Providence, (Rhode Island), the Committee, 1953. 14 pp.

Traffic Safety

OPERATION SAFETY. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for January 1954: WINTER HAZARDS. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

OPERATION SAFETY. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for February 1954: KNOW AND OBEY TRAFFIC LAWS. Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

YOUR FALL SAFETY KIT OFFERS A SURE TIP FOR GAMBLERS. You Can Bet Your Life Safety Pays. Chicago 11, Advertising Council, Inc., 1953. Variously paged.

Urban Development

APROPOS—ANY CITY. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* October 1953. 4 pp.

THE OBLIGATION TO BE STRONG

(Continued from page 559)

and free. To this end, we need more efforts like that classic battle led by the Richmond Citizens Association that won for them a splendid new charter. And those efforts must not be one-shot affairs. They must be sustained year in and year out, to consolidate gains already won and make further gains as they are needed. There are once proud cities that have learned with sorrow what they can lose when their citizens let down their guard.

Theodore Roosevelt, who taught us to "speak softly and carry a big stick," put it this way in an address at the first of these National Conferences of the National Municipal League. Speaking in Philadelphia in 1894, he said: "In the end, the work has got to be done by actual hard stubborn, long-continued service in the field of practical politics itself."

That is an inescapable part of the free citizen's obligation to be strong

Thomas T. Cobb, of Daytona Beach's Citizens Committee, before the 1953 All-America Cities jury in Richmond.

2 Cities Vie for All-America Awards

Twenty-two cities in fifteen different tes presented their cases for 1953 All-America Cities" awards at the 59th ational Conference on Government at ichmond.

Spokesmen for the competitors were ven twelve-minute periods in which to ace before the jury of twelve evidence progress resulting from citizen action. eorge H. Gallup, new League presi- nt, served as jury foreman.

In order of their presentations on onday, November 9, the spokesmen ere: Norman Peterson, Canton, Ohio, itizens Committee for Good Govern- ent; J. B. Trimble, Corpus Christi, exas, Better Government League; homas T. Cobb, Daytona Beach, lorida, Citizens Committee; James ush, Flint, Michigan, Junior Chamber f Commerce; William P. Snyder, III, ittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Allegheny onference; Charles C. Schlink, Peoria, linois, Peorians for Council-Manager; . E. Perkins, city manager of Glendale, alifornia; Mrs. Seigel W. Judd, Grand apids, Michigan, Citizens Action, and layor Paul G. Goebel; Fritz S. Updike, ome, New York, Citizens Committee; eorge P. Brockway, Fair Lawn, New Jersey, Non-Partisan League; and Robert H. Ryan, Lawrence, Massachusetts, Committee for Industrial Development.

Representatives before the jury on Tuesday, November 10, were: Bernard L. Savage, Norwich, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce; James M. Patterson, Park Forest, Illinois, Board of Education (Rich Township High School District); Alexander Hamilton, Jr., Petersburg, Virginia, attorney; Jeremiah Nixon, De Soto, Missouri, Planwell Progress Executive Committee; Harold B. Frye, Hamilton, Ohio, Sertoma Club; James C. Frits, Port Angeles, Washington, Community Action Assembly; Dana Murdock, Richmond, California, Chamber of Commerce, and Mayor Ed. J. J. McKeegan; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut, attorney; William W. Scranton, Scranton, Pennsylvania, Chamber of Commerce; Frank Hemenway, Jr., and W. A. Peavy, Shreveport, Louisiana, Survey; and Robert O. Hilty, Toledo, Ohio, Municipal League.

Changes in the jury (announced in the October REVIEW) were: James M.

(Continued on next page)

Council to Meet Twice Yearly

The League's Council, at its annual business meeting in connection with the Richmond Conference, voted to hold two meetings each year in the future, one an all-day meeting immediately prior to the annual Conference and the other an all-day meeting in the spring, prior to May 15.

The president was directed to appoint a committee of five to make a continuing study of the McLean report and other proposals and to consider revision of parts of the League's constitution.

Carl H. Pforzheimer

Carl H. Pforzheimer was reappointed treasurer, with expressions of appreciation of his 32 years of service in that office, and Alfred Willoughby was reappointed secretary and executive director.

An Executive Committee, to act on policy matters between meetings of the Council, was chosen as follows: Richard S. Childs, William Collins, Charles Edison, George H. Gallup, John S. Linen and George S. Van Schaick.

Reports were made by Mr. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee and of the Building Committee; Arnold Frye, chairman of the Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Government; Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of the Advisory Committee on National Municipal League Staff Fellowship, and by Mr. Collins, Chairman of the Finance Committee.

A proposed National Municipal League Fellowship in the Advanced Management Program of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, underwritten by Mr. and Mrs. Preston Farley, Evanston, Illinois, was welcomed.

All-America Cities

(Continued from preceding page)

Osborn, Yale University, for H. Bruce Palmer; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis, for Richard S. Childs; and Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck, former president, National Federation of Women's Clubs, for Henry Bruère, retiring president of the League.

The eleven winning cities will be announced in the February NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the February 9 issue of *Look* magazine, which will be out on January 26.

E. W. Palmer Dies

Elbridge Woodman Palmer, regional vice president of the League since 1951 and a member of the League's Finance Committee, died on November 18 at the age of 67 in New York.

A native of New Hampshire, he had been since 1925 director and president of the Kingsport Press, of Kingsport, Tennessee, one of the largest book contract printing plants in the United States. He was president of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association and formerly chairman of the Graphic Arts Coordinating Committee of the National Recovery Administration.

In 1943 Mr. Palmer was commissioned a colonel in the U. S. army and placed in charge of the planning, production and distribution of all Army literature, official documents and printing supplies.

Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 36 pages (1952)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1950)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1953)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1952)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1950)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1952)	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1953)	.75
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1953)	.75

(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for $1.20)

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model County Charter (New edition in preparation.)	1.00
Model Direct Primary Election System, 48 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 39 pages (1951)	.50
Model State Civil Service Law (1953)	.75
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1953)	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952)	3.50
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan. 32 pages (1949)	.50
Coroners in 1953—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 80 pages, mimeographed (1953)	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 70 pages (1953)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1952)	.75
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 36 pages (1949)	.50
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25

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Inside Advice for Citizens

Thirty citizen organizations contributed ideas and experience to produce these long needed manuals, just published by the League:

The Citizen Association: How to organize and run it

The Citizen Association: How to win civic campaigns

Written in easy-to-read style by Alexander L. Crosby and illustrated by Ajay, these 64-page pamphlets answer practically every question a citizen might ask. "Helpful to both the tyro and the more experienced campaigner," writes Forest Frank of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee. Other advance comments indicate that these pamphlets will rank among the most valuable ever issued by the League.

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Model County and Municipal Bond Law

Prepared by the National Municipal League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments, Arnold Frye, Chairman.

One of a series on local government finance, this model law sets high practical standards, imposes safeguards against misuse or excessive use of borrowing power, encourages long range planning, preserves popular control. Newly published, it has already been "laboratory tested" by several states.

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